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**The Sacred Lute: Intabulated Chorales from Luther's Age to the beginnings of  
Pietism**

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**The Sacred Lute: Intabulated Chorales from Luther's Age to the beginnings of  
Pietism**

by

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**Dissertation**

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2007

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Douglas Dempster, interim Dean, College of Fine Arts, Dr. David Hunter, Fine Arts Music Librarian and Dr. Richard Cherwitz, Professor, Department of Communication Studies Coordinator from The University of Texas at Austin for their help in completing this work. Emeritus Professor, Dr. Keith Polk from the University of New Hampshire, who mentored me during my master's studies, deserves a special acknowledgement for his belief in my capabilities. Olav Chris Henriksen receives my deepest gratitude for his kindness and generosity during my Boston lute studies; his quite enthusiasm for the lute and its repertoire ignited my interest in German lute music.

My sincere and deepest thanks are extended to the members of my dissertation committee. Drs. Rebecca Baltzer, Susan Boettcher and Elliot Antokoletz offered critical assistance with this effort. All three have shaped the way I view music.

Dr. Susan Jackson and Dr. Andrew Dell'Antonio have been a significant force in the development of this work. Their counsel has been crucial and it is my hope the guidance they will provide to their future students is treasured beyond the completion of a degree. These are two exemplary individuals.

**The Sacred Lute: Intabulated Chorales from Luther's Age to the beginnings of  
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Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

Gary Dean Beckman, Ph. D.  
The University of Texas at Austin, 2007

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Chorale and psalm intabulations were an integral part of the German repertory for lute, both in print and in manuscript, from the beginnings of the Reformation through the seventeenth century. While these works are regularly present, if in modest proportion, in extant sources through the period, the study of these intabulations remains a lacuna in the scholarly literature. The repertory, however, is an important topic for study as it reflects key aspects of Early Modern life for devout Lutheran households: debates over orthodox and Pietist theology, private devotion and the use of domestic space, conservatism versus progressive musical approaches, and the intersection between instrumental practices and traditions of Protestant sacred song.

In an effort to address this lacuna, this study catalogs chorale and psalm intabulations for lute in both print and manuscript from the early sixteenth century to the emergence of Pietism. Most importantly, it attempts to provide a context for the performance of this repertory, arguing for an assessment of lute chorales and psalms as a crucial part of domestic devotional practice.

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## Introduction

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the lute achieved a prominence in German-speaking lands unequalled by any other musical instrument of the time. A significant portion of its repertoire was dominated by arrangements of vocal and dance music that reflected both the style of the model compositions and the idiomatic nature of the instrument. However, as the sixteenth century ended, newly developed vocal styles, genres and musical aesthetics from Italy transformed music into a dynamic medium for the emotions – far removed from the dignified compositional equilibrium so prized earlier in the century. As the Thirty Years War waned, German lutenists assimilated these new Italian trends and a burgeoning new French lute style simultaneously. During this period, however, the lute was all but abandoned by Italian composers. By the end of the seventeenth century, the instrument approached its twilight as keyboard and bowed instruments began to dominate the European musical landscape.

One particular subset of the lute repertoire from this period has received little scholarly attention for much of the past century: Lutheran chorales and psalms.<sup>1</sup> The scholarly lacuna is significant, as the Protestant repertoire for the instrument has never been studied. Likewise, a contextual discussion for the whole of this repertoire has never been attempted, nor have its practices been put into a confessional or functional context. Thus, the purpose of this study is to bring a significant portion of this repertoire to the

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<sup>1</sup> There is no literature dealing with this repertoire specifically. Two articles concerning Esaias Reusner (Junior and Senior) and their contributions to the repertoire appeared in the early twentieth century. See K Koletschka, "Esaias Reusner der Jüngerer und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 15 (1928); and K Koletschka, "Esaias Reusner Vater und Sohn und ihre Choralbearbeitungen für die Laute: eine Parallele," in *Festschrift Adolph Kocirz*, ed. R. Haar and J. Zuth (Vienna: E. Strache, 1930).

attention of scholars and lutenists alike: its importance lies in the intersection of instrumental music and theology that assisted the Reformation in musical households.

## **I. Parameters and Definitions**

This study will examine the whole of the chorale repertoire for the lute from the beginnings of the Reformation to 1678. The significance of the ending date is provided by a distinct stylistic change in the repertoire that occurs simultaneously with the emergence of Pietism and the development of the instrument.<sup>2</sup> Though sacred-song intabulations continue through the 1750s, the significant influence of Pietist thought on these arrangements deserves a separate study.

It is extraordinarily tempting to explore every aspect of this repertoire, since it intersects with a number of disciplines, avenues of inquiry, and scholarly traditions. However, given the significance and breadth of the topic at hand, these arrangements for lute will be considered in two primary domains -- musicological and confessional – in order to postulate a domestic context for the works.

An essential starting point in working with this repertoire is defining the parameters within which works will be considered. Given complex factors of transmission, history, and confessional appropriations, all works appearing with a sacred text incipit in German or otherwise identified for use in German-speaking lands have been included for consideration.<sup>3</sup> The study will engage with examples that appear to

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<sup>2</sup> Chapter four discusses in detail the importance of the 1678 date in the context of Esaias Reusner's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder*.

<sup>3</sup> This is significant since a number of prints appearing at the beginning of the seventeenth century are identified in as many as four different languages. For a discussion of this issue, see Chapter two.

indicate either Lutheran or Calvinist confessional practices – or sometimes a coexistence of the two.

In the course of identifying and cataloging the repertoire, a number of decisions have been made for the sake of establishing uniformity. First, all titles of sacred songs (chorales and psalms) have been equalized according to Johannes Zahn's six-volume *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, which identifies and catalogs chorale melodies.<sup>4</sup> To assemble the bulk of the catalog, I have relied on two bibliographies. The first is Howard Mayer Brown's *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, which identifies all lute prints before that date as well as their contents.<sup>5</sup> The second, Christian Meyer's *Catalogue Des Sources Manuscrites En Tablature*, inventories lute manuscripts and their contents in German, Austrian, French, Czechoslovakian, Belgian, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Slovakian, Ukrainian and Swiss libraries.<sup>6</sup> All sacred works printed in mensural notation that identify the theorbo or lute as a primary or continuo instrument have been excluded from this study, as have works with Latin titles, such as motets, identifiable portions of Mass ordinaries, propers and offices.

A number of terms must be defined in the context of this study. *Chorale* will be defined broadly, following Marshall and Leaver's definition in *Grove Music Online*, as "The congregational hymn of the German Protestant church service."<sup>7</sup> Works of this sort have sacred texts that are either newly composed or based on a biblical text; they may

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<sup>4</sup> Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, 6 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1890; reprint, 1963).

<sup>5</sup> Brown, Howard Mayer. *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979.

<sup>6</sup> Christian Meyer, *Sources Manuscrites en Tablature: Luth et Theorbe (c.1500-c.1800)*, vol. III/1 (Baden-Baden: Éditions Valentin Koerner, 1997). See also <http://www-bnus.u-strasbg.fr/smt/sommaire.htm>

<sup>7</sup> Robert Marshall and Robin Leaver, Chorale: Terminology *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [January 5 2007]).

appear with a monophonic melody or with instructions to sing the text with a specified pre-existent melody. For the sake of this project, I will use the term *psalm* to describe sacred songs with a similar character and function, but the text of which is a direct – generally metrical – translation of a biblical psalm. This study will use *Calvinist psalm* or *French psalm* to indicate a metrical psalm text (in either French or German) associated with melodies that had originally appeared in the 1562 “Geneva Psalter.”

*Intabulation* is the technical term concerning the manner and format of arranging a musical work for the lute. *Lute Chorale* is a term coined in this study that denotes the intabulation of a Lutheran chorale or Protestant metrical psalm for the Renaissance or Baroque lute.

## **II. Defining a Lute Chorale**

What follows is a concise discussion concerning the nature of lute chorales and the general issues associated with the repertoire. It is included to give the reader a brief view of the repertoire, to familiarize him/her with terminology used in this study, and to expose some basic issues and history of the repertoire before embarking on a detailed examination for the remainder of this study.

Chorales (also known as *Kirchenlieder* or *Geistliche Lieder*), German-texted praise songs used in both public and private modes of worship in the Evangelical or Lutheran church, have a long and distinguished history. First appearing in broadsheets and small collections (later in printed collections containing over 1000 works), these sacred works were an important part of the reform movement in the early sixteenth century. As these *Kirchenlieder* began to permeate the fabric of new religious thought, instrumental arrangements of these works began to appear. The first extant arrangements

of these sacred works for instruments are for the lute. These “lute chorales” appear as 2-4 voice intabulations of vocal models and exist in both printed and manuscript form from the beginnings of the Reformation into the middle of the eighteenth century. In both print and manuscript sources, these intabulations appear in anthologies scattered among the plethora of dances, chansons, madrigals and Latin-texted sacred works during the sixteenth century and in larger single-genre collections in the next century.

Since these arrangements are modeled after vocal works, much of the basic musical style encountered in this repertoire is purely dependent on the model. Therefore, with some basic idiomatic exceptions, lute chorales reflect the same texture, melodic material and counterpoint of the polyphonic vocal arrangements of *Kirchenlieder*. Lute chorales can be associated with their model (and thus identified) in one of two ways: by a text incipit that matches the opening of the model’s text, and by the melody associated with the chorale model. Since lute chorales are seldom, if ever, fully texted, one must rely on the initial text phrase to begin any sort of study of any one arrangement. Given ambiguities in the spelling of the opening textual phrase, it is not always possible to ascertain the exact model the intabulator had in mind when arranging the work.

To date, scholarship has not proposed an exact function for such arrangements - yet this is not limited to Protestant repertoire. Intabulations of motets, Masses and other Latin texted works for lute have yet to be examined in a functional context. In addition to creating a catalog of the repertoire, this study aims to identify potential functions for these Early Modern Era intabulations.

### III. Representative Lute Chorales - Analysis

Lute intabulations of pre-existing vocal works fall between two ends of a spectrum, which I will characterize as “literal” and “embellished.” Literal intabulations are exact arrangements of vocal models (either simple chordal harmonizations of the chorale melody, or perhaps instrumental arrangements of a simple chordal vocal harmonization). They seldom deviate from the model except for occasions where it is physically impossible to play the notes on the instrument. In these cases, voices are frequently dropped. Embellished intabulations, on the other hand, add melodic figuration (step-wise passages, cadential flourishes, etc.) into the arrangement, ostensibly to sustain longer notes in the model, emphasize the end of a phrase or to demonstrate the performer’s virtuosity. These embellishments are typically stock idiomatic figures. As in the more “literal” intabulations, voices are sometimes dropped from the texture in these “embellished” intabulations as well.

Chorale intabulations are replete with idiomatic and embellished passages, though these do not occur with the frequency found in arrangements of chansons, madrigals or *Lieder*. In part, these embellishments serve an aesthetic function demonstrating a modest amount of virtuosity. The primary function, however, is to extend note values greater than a half note in the source composition. Since the lute has little sound projection or sustain, lutenists create a sonic illusion of long-value notes through embellishments. Another idiomatic technique is the use of step-wise motion in a supporting harmonic voice provide a sense of forward harmonic momentum.

Lying roughly between the “literal” and “embellished” extremes of intabulation, Example 1.1, Hans Gerle’s 1533 intabulation of Johann Walter’s 1524 tenorlied setting of *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* provides an excellent example of these techniques.

# Jesus Christus, unser Heiland

(der von uns den Gottes Zorn wand)

Johann Walter  
*Geistliche Gesangbüchlein*, 1524

Hans Gerle  
*Tablatur auff die Lauten*, 1533

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system includes staves for Altus, Tenor, Bass, and Lute. The Altus and Tenor parts are in treble clef, while the Bass and Lute parts are in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is common time (C). The second system includes staves for Alto (A.), Tenor (T.), Bass (B.), and Lute. The Alto, Tenor, and Bass parts are in treble clef, and the Lute part is in bass clef. The key signature and time signature remain the same. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with some triplets indicated by a '3' over the notes.

Example 1.1



A. 

T. 

B. 

Lute 

A. 

T. 

B. 

Lute 

120

A.

T.

B.

Lute

150

A.

T.

B.

Lute

187

A.

T.

B.

Lute

210

A.

T.

B.

Lute

240  
A. 

240  
T. 

240  
B. 

240  
Lute 

240  


First, addressing the problem of rhythmic values of two beats or more, lutenists will typically either halve the values on strong beats (m. 7, tenor; mm. 13 altus, mm. 19, 22 & 24 bass) or embellish (either wholly or partly) them (m. 7, bass). Smaller idiomatic flourishes which elaborate a pitch or step-wise melodic pattern (ms. 15, tenor and mm. 2 & 16, bass) in conjunction with halving longer note values help to create the sonic illusion of these notes holding to their original length. Additionally, lutenists will employ step-wise patterns not originally in the vocal models in order to add melodic interest and provide stronger harmonic momentum. (mm. 7, 9 & 20, bass; m. 9 tenor). Small rhythmic or pitch variations from the model can occur (m. 6, bass) depending on either which vocal model was used or idiomatic issues of range, etc.

The alto voice provides two typical examples of devices introduced in sixteenth-century chorale intabulations. The alto receives the majority of embellishment and contains the most cadential flourishes (mm. 6, 10, 19 & 24). Embellishment in the soprano (27 beats of variation) is roughly equal to the other two voices combined. (17 beats in the tenor & 9 beats in the bass). In this case, Gerle demonstrates a concern for the clarity of the chorale melody by embellishing other voices.

Example 1.2 is a setting of *Ein feste burg is unser Gott* by Esaias Reusner (Sr.) published in his *Musikalischer Lust Garten* (1645). This is the last print in the repertoire for Renaissance lute and shares a number of stylistic features with Gerle's setting of *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*. In this arrangement, embellishments are kept to a minimum and restricted mostly to the bass and alto voices. Cadential flourishes are restricted to the soprano voice, which also contains the chorale melody.

# Ein feste burg ist unser Gott

Esaias Reusner Sr.  
Musikalischer Lustgarten  
1645

Chorale Melody  
Zahn 7377a

Lute

Chorale

Lute

Chorale

Lute

Example 1.2

Chorale

16

Lute

16

16

This system contains measures 16 through 20. The Chorale part is written on a single treble staff. The Lute part is written on a grand staff (treble and bass staves). Measure numbers 16 and 16 are indicated at the start of the respective staves. The music features a mix of quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests and ties.

Chorale

21

Lute

21

21

This system contains measures 21 through 25. The Chorale part is written on a single treble staff. The Lute part is written on a grand staff (treble and bass staves). Measure numbers 21 and 21 are indicated at the start of the respective staves. The music continues with various note values and rests, ending with a double bar line in measure 25.

By comparing these two arrangements, some stylistic features of lute chorale intabulations become evident. Broadly speaking, the two intabulations reflect both commonalities and differences in the sacred music style popular at the time of each print. Gerle's model was composed in an imitative style, still the norm in sacred musical compositions. Reusner's arrangement, however, reflects the four-part homophonic harmonizations typically used in Lutheran congregational song in the seventeenth century. This reflection of popular style is also seen in the position of the chorale melody. Gerle held to tenorlied tradition by keeping the chorale in the tenor and likewise, Reusner held to the cantional arrangement of seventeenth-century chorale composition by presenting the chorale melody in the soprano. Additionally, when compared to intabulations of contemporaneous secular vocal models or abstract lute compositions, these arrangements reflect a judicious use of ornamentation.

Though Gerle attempted to keep the chorale melody as clear as possible, his embellishment of the melody appears extreme when compared to Reusner's intabulation. Gerle's use of cadential ornamentation occurs in voices other than the chorale melody. These two features demonstrate a change in chorale intabulation that occurred over 100 years and appears to have two components: 1) A move to make the chorale melody as literal and clear as possible by embellishing other voice parts; and 2) moving cadential embellishments to the voice that holds the chorale melody to emphasize the tonal center of each phrase.



#### IV. Broader Trends in the Lute's Development

Between 1590 and 1630, the lute and its repertoire were undergoing a number of significant developments. Since the evolution of the instrument has been discussed elsewhere, this study will present only a brief outline.<sup>8</sup> By the 1590s, 8-course instruments were common; during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, 10-course repertoire became the norm especially in French sources. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century, French instrument makers began building larger lutes for an emerging (and uniquely) French style in which lower sonorities were increasingly prized. This necessitated a change in the instrument's tuning and construction. The move from what is now termed "Renaissance" tuning (six courses tuned *g', d', a, f, c, G* to "Baroque" or "D minor" tuning (six fretted courses tuned *f', d', a, f, d, A*, plus unfretted diapasons *G, F, E, D, C*, etc) occurred during this period mainly in France; English and German lutenists adopted the new D minor tuning by mid-century. This transition is reflected primarily in manuscript sources (including those from German areas) but Ballard's *Tablature de luth de différents auteurs sur l'accord ordinaire et extraordinaire* (1623) is characterized by Matthew Spring as perhaps the most important print of the period demonstrating this transition.<sup>9</sup> It is notable that lute prints of German origin during this period still reflect the older Renaissance repertoire and tuning, which demonstrates some isolation in the context of other continental musical developments described below.

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<sup>8</sup> For two recent studies on the history of the instrument, see Douglas Alton Smith, *A history of the lute from antiquity to the Renaissance* (Lexington, Va.: Lute Society of America, 2002); and Mathew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>9</sup> Only the title page exists. Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music*, 298.

Contemporaneous with the evolution of the instrument was the disappearance of arrangements of certain vocal genres popular in the sixteenth century. During this period, the lute repertoire consisted of anthologized publications transcending linguistic and stylistic boundaries; combinations of chanson, madrigal, dance, motet, Mass, lied, chorale, psalm and popular song were the norm across the continent. By the early seventeenth century, however, French lute sources were abandoning these older genres and began to coalesce around *air de cour* and dances, which were becoming increasingly stylized and grouped. This demarcates a significant change in the lute repertoire reflected in both print and manuscript traditions: Chanson and madrigal intabulations give way to *air de cour* accompaniment in France, Italian madrigals disappear and re-emerge as basso continuo arias in Italy and Germany, instrumental fantasies are replaced by stylized dance suites in France and Germany, and the Catholic repertoire coalesces around motets - eschewing longer Mass movements popular in the middle of the sixteenth century. Thus, regional interest in certain secular genres becomes clear and delineated while the sacred repertoire divides across confessional lines; lutenists favor chorales and psalms in Protestant strongholds and those in Catholic areas abandon Mass intabulations in favor of motet arrangements, the popularity of which declined as the seventeenth century progressed.

In the early seventeenth century, the rise of monody and the need for continuo instruments with lower sonorities forced lutenists to either migrate to the theorbo or become adept with both the theorbo and the lute. Though this broader move has yet to be proven conclusively, Giustiniani writes in 1628 that the lute was mostly abandoned in

Italy by that time in favor of the theorbo.<sup>10</sup> This move to the theorbo both as a solo instrument and as an accompaniment to monody was not simply an Italian matter. Lutenists in both France and Germany took up the instrument as well. Realizing that this migration was certainly not a continent-wide phenomenon, it is important to note that the theorbo was designed expressly for monody.<sup>11</sup> Thus, taking into account the period of transitional tuning in France during the early seventeenth century, there is a perceptible move to develop both larger instruments with a much lower range than their Renaissance counterparts in order to accommodate Italian developments.

This study of the lute chorale will move from concrete issues of transmission and arrangement to more conceptual matters concerning spiritual practice and finally, to Esaias Reusner *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (1678) – the first lute chorale print in Baroque tuning. Chapter one outlines the transmission of lute chorales and a discusses the construction of the appendices. In Chapter two, I explore psalm prints produced in the early seventeenth century. Lute chorales in the context of domestic and private devotion are discussed in Chapter three, with a focus on Lutheran musical thought during the Reformation and confessionalization eras. This culminates in an outline of musical function for the new Pietist movement. Chapter four outlines the biography of Esaias Reusner and explores his *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* both musically and devotionally.

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<sup>10</sup> Nigel North, *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo* (Bloomington, Illinois: Indiana University Press, 1987), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

## Chapter 1: Transmission of the Lute Chorale Repertoire

### I. Introduction

The lack of research on chorale arrangements for lute constitutes a lacuna in musical scholarship. First appearing in 1523, only six years after Luther began advocating his reforms, polyphonic chorale intabulations drawn from vocal models became a regular component of sixteenth-century lute prints and manuscripts of German origin.<sup>12</sup> As the seventeenth century progressed, new musical forms and aesthetics from both France and Italy profoundly influenced music making in both secular and sacred contexts. Responding to these innovations, lutenists from German-speaking areas largely abandoned arrangements of older vocal models (such as chanson, madrigal and motet) and moved to the suite as the primary form of abstract instrumental composition. Both chorales and psalms for lute, however, tenaciously held their place in the repertoire during the century. In fact, they proved to be both agents and reflections of the musical practices common to both Lutheran and Calvinist worship.<sup>13</sup>

Determining written transmission patterns of lute chorales in both print and manuscript during the early modern period seems at the outset a relatively

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<sup>12</sup> For surveys of Lutheran musical developments, see Edwin Liemohn, *The Chorale* (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press, 1953); Johannes Reidel, *The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1967); Carl Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition (1524-1672)* (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Academic Press, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> There are some musical commonalities between the two confessions. Both were concerned about melodic and textual clarity, which resulted in polyphonic arrangements with psalm and chorale melodies appearing first in the tenor and then in the soprano voice later in the sixteenth century. However, Calvin banned polyphony in church in favor of monophonic psalm singing (yet allowed polyphony at home). Albert Dunning, Calvin, *Jean Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 1 2006]). Luther viewed the role of music differently and cultivated its use both in church (as long as the text was clear) and at home (for domestic edification). Additionally, both Calvin and Luther were somewhat silent on the use of instruments in domestic environments thus, tacitly permitting their use (or at least allowing their followers to claim their tacit consent).

straightforward process of identifying chorales for lute in surviving sources.<sup>14</sup> What complicates the matter is assessing how Protestant spiritual songs were conceived, understood and collected by composers, compilers and consumers. The process is further complicated by the events of these centuries: political and economic strife, confessional evolution and theological debate concerning the function of music, changes in secular musical aesthetics, social and mercantile trends, etc. The fact that chorales remained a steadfast part of the lute's repertory throughout the period demonstrates the importance of understanding possible modern-day aesthetic thought concerning the "musicality" of this repertoire. The importance of understanding these works in the context of early modern musical thought resides not in the musical outcome, but in its function as a mirror and transmitter of theological concern, musical aesthetics and spiritual practice.

Perhaps most pertinent in understanding lute chorales in a religious context is how the intabulation process and the tradition of identifying lute works results in musical arrangements that hide, or at least obfuscate, aspects of the original vocal model upon which the intabulation is based. Since lute intabulations are not in mensural notation, the modern performer is left with an idiomatic method of reproducing polyphony on an instrument.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline how the catalog in appendix 1 was compiled and expose the extra-musical issues that this process both confronts and reveals. As described below, assessing and problematizing this repertoire is not a matter of simply counting musical works. Instead, by approaching this repertoire contextually, its range of possible function and meaning can be outlined and analyzed.

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<sup>14</sup> Certainly, the possibility of oral transmission is high during this period and should not be ruled out as a method of communicating this repertoire.

## II. Problematising the Repertoire's Catalog

This study considers all lute intabulations previously identified as “chorale” or “psalm” based on the Zahn and Wackernagel catalogs appearing with a German text incipit or otherwise identified for Protestant worship use in German speaking lands.<sup>15</sup> Since almost every extant lute intabulation of a chorale occurs without underlaid text or performance instructions, a brief but detailed explanation of certain issues concerning this catalog is necessary. Even with the number of finding aids available to identify chorales and chorale texts, cataloging this repertoire presents a challenge far beyond collation. In fact, these intabulations demonstrate how lutenists and consumers of these arrangements identified, understood and used this sacred repertory.

### IIa. Intabulation Identification: Incipit vs. Melody

Historians have systematically catalogued Lutheran chorales by their two primary components: text and monophonic melody.<sup>16</sup> The identification and cataloging of chorales was straightforward for these scholars: in the sources, there appeared a monophonic melody, a text incipit and strophic text. In the Early Modern era, it was common practice for lute intabulations (and vocal works) to be identified only by text incipit. However, underlaid text is virtually non-existent in the surviving lute sources.

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<sup>15</sup> The standard source for locating and identifying chorale melodies is Johannes Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*, 6 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1890; reprint, 1963). Attempts to update and expand Zahn's catalog are in progress, see Joachim Stalman, et al, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied*, 5 vols. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993). For a catalog of chorale texts, see Albert Fischer, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 6 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964); Philip Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 5 vols. (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1864; reprint, 1964). For a catalog of German sacred music prints, see Konrad Ameln, Markus Jenny, and Walther Lipphardt, *Das Deutsche Kirchenlied, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975).

<sup>16</sup> See Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Zahn, *Die Melodien der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenlieder*.

This complicates the identification of the precise text of the original vocal model the intabulator intended. Further, intabulations naturally obscure the visualization of melody by the intabulation process itself, requiring a reader's familiarity with the three tablature systems employed (German, Italian and French).<sup>17</sup> The typical motivic devices used to sustain longer notes, such as stepwise passages and idiomatic flourishes, further obscure the chorale melody.<sup>18</sup> Since intabulations also obscure voice parts, it is left to the transcriber to determine which glyph of the intabulation system corresponds to which voice part - soprano, alto, tenor or bass. A full transcription is often necessary to determine which parts hold the chorale melody.<sup>19</sup> Once the transcription is completed, however, the melody can be verified using Zahn and likely texts can be assigned using Wackernagel.<sup>20</sup> Given the time consuming nature of this process, it is tempting to rely on the most easily identifiable aspect: the textual incipit. However, this solution is somewhat problematic.

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<sup>17</sup> There are two sources that contain chorale text. See *Bewahr mich Herr, Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort, Herr Gott lass dich erbarmen, Mein Seel erhebt den Herren, O Herr mit ferr sei dein gnad* in Sebastian Ochsenskun, *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten von Motetten, frantzösischen, welschen und teutschen geystlichen und weltlichen Liedern* (Heidelberg: Johann Kholen, 1558). Note that the text appears at the bottom of the page in this source. For an example of a chorale intabulation with underlayed text, see *Herr Gott dich loben wir* in Esaías Reusner, *Musikalisher Lustgarten, das ist: Herren D. Martini Lutheri, Wie auch anderer Gottseliger (der Reinen Augspurgischen Confession zugethaner) Männer / Geistliche Kirchen und Hauß Lieder auff Lautentabulatur gesetzt*. (Breslau: Georg Baumann, 1645).

<sup>18</sup> Lutenists typically develop pattern recognition with chordal structures much like guitarists or pianists with modern notation.

<sup>19</sup> Tablature expressly designates which note(s) should be played; therefore, the problem is determining which "voice" notes should be placed into during the transcription process. This is especially problematic with inner voices.

<sup>20</sup> Note that it is not possible to simply examine the highest notes of an intabulation and determine the melody since many intabulators used this voice for virtuosic purposes. Transcription of an intabulation into modern notation can take between two and ten hours depending on the complexity, length and virtuosity required to perform the arrangement. It would thus take between 3,000 and 15,000 hours to positively verify the melody of each of the roughly 1,500 chorales in this study, and this does not include the identification of likely texts. Thus, given the scope and purpose of this study, I make no claim to have transcribed each intabulation presented in appendix 1.

If one attempts to identify the chorale melody by incipit alone, there is a possibility that either the scribe or printer mistakenly assigned the incipit to an intabulation of another vocal model. Further, if a melody is extracted from the intabulation and it does not appear in Zahn, there is a possibility that the melody occurred in a non-extant source (or at least one that Zahn did not take into account). Likewise, if one compares both the melody and text incipit with the Zahn and Wackernagel catalogs and there is no concordance, a question arises: Should it *not* be considered a chorale in this catalog simply because it does not appear in these two sources?

Testing this approach, a number of intabulations were transcribed to verify that the text incipit correctly identified the melody in the Zahn catalogue and an appropriate text could be assigned using the Wackernagel catalog. Given the accepted accuracy of both lute print and manuscript traditions in correctly assigning text incipits to the intabulation of the correct model, this study will generally rely on the incipits in determining the presumed models for the intabulations. Therefore, when a melody and incipit cannot be verified by either Zahn or Wackernagel or was not available for study, I have trusted the intabulators to match the text incipit with the proper melody, original text or vocal model.

### **IIb. Contrafacta**

Both print and manuscript collections often equated different incipits to an existing intabulation, which signified newly composed or alternative sacred poetry that could be sung to the intabulation; this occurred primarily in printed psalm collections,



either in the indices or in the body of the print.<sup>21</sup> For example, Daniel Laelius' 1617 psalm print *Testudo Spiritualis* explicitly states that it is an arrangement of the Lobwasser psalter - implying that all 150 psalms appearing in the collection are arranged for lute. This print contains 124 intabulations. The remaining psalms are identified in the body of the print as *singable to* intabulations of other psalms; the text of psalm 53 can be sung to the intabulation of psalm 14, the text of psalm 68 can be sung to the intabulation of psalm 36, etc.<sup>22</sup> Other collections employ the same scheme: Esaias Reusner's 1678 *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Lieder* contains 98 intabulations, though 151 chorales are listed in the index.

Scholars have generally designated works that assign new text to a pre-existing melody as *contrafacta*.<sup>23</sup> However, as Robert Falck has noted, "...no precise limits have been observed in the designation of a song or composition as a *contrafactum*."<sup>24</sup> When compared to Luther's more dramatic use of the process (replacing a Latin texted psalm with German paraphrase of the same psalm, for example), the substitutions outlined above do not have the same rhetorical impact. That is, the meaning of the musical work does not significantly change – it remains a sacred work and more importantly, it remains a psalm.

From the beginning of the Reformation movement, the use of different poetic texts set to a comparatively small group of melodies was integral to the Lutheran musical tradition. In fact, the first recognized collection of Protestant hymns, the *Achtliederbuch* (1523/24) contained eight texts and only four melodies; the Erfurter Enchiridion

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<sup>21</sup> This new text, however, rarely appears in lute sources.

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 2, table 1 for a complete list of the equivalents for this volume.

<sup>23</sup> After 1450, *contrafacta* usually refers to assigning sacred text to secular song. See Martin Picker, *Contrafactum II: After 1450* *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [July 16 2007]).

<sup>24</sup> Robert Falck, "Contrafactum I: Before 1450," in *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (2000).

contained 25 texts and 16 melodies; and the *Klug* hymnbook (1535), which was compiled under Luther's supervision, contained 97 melodies with 129 texts.<sup>25</sup> Spiritual text, then, was the essence of a Protestant hymn, and melody was a vehicle for that text. This partly explains the tradition of printing chorales without melodies: a poet could use various directives such as *im thon* to designate which pre-existing melody should be used to sing a newly composed text.<sup>26</sup> Thus, different sacred texts sung to the same melody were likely understood as devotionally distinct. Following this tradition, this study will consider each independent chorale or psalm – regardless of melodic relatedness – as a separate and distinct work when it appears in a lute intabulation.

### **IIc. Multiple Arrangements**

Multiple arrangements of both psalms and chorales occur in manuscript and print sources. These alternative arrangements are sometimes identified as *alio modo*<sup>27</sup> or with numerical additions after the text incipit: 1,2, etc.<sup>28</sup> In print, these additional arrangements occur as elaborated variations of literal four-voice intabulations.

Multiple arrangements typically occur in psalm prints. Both Vallet's *Regia Pietas* (1620) and Reymann's *Cythara Sacra* (1613) have multiple arrangements of the same psalm - a literal four-voice intabulation and a variation occurring under the same text incipit with a double bar separating the two. This study will consider these multiple arrangements as a single work not simply because of the appearance of the double bar,

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<sup>25</sup> Reidel, *The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions*, 93.

<sup>26</sup> Note that in the seventeenth-century, the directive *weise* was also used.

<sup>27</sup> See *Ain Kindlein/ geboren* and *Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren* D-W Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Augusteus 2 and *Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset* D-Lem Ms. II.6.15.

<sup>28</sup> This is a somewhat rare occurrence. See the two intabulations of *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* CH-Bu Ms. F.IX.39.

but because these works speak (partly) to the authors' conceptions of their intabulations - one literal arrangement of a chorale and one varied arrangement of the same chorale for a potentially different intention. In the printed lute repertoire, literal four-voice arrangements of vocal works (in which a vocal model was diplomatically translated into tablature) are a rare occurrence. Cadential formulas, stock idiomatic patterns and other virtuosic melodic devices served to distinguish the skill level required to perform the arrangement and were typical of lute practice. Literal intabulation, however, was not a tool of pedagogical practice but rather the first step in the intabulation process – elaborative elements were the last devices added.<sup>29</sup> Certainly, Vallet's and Reymann's prints demonstrate how intabulations are created and embellished - but more than that – they speak to how these sacred works were envisioned. A literal intabulation requires less skill and is more suited for amateurs given its chordal structure.<sup>30</sup> These simplified arrangements also suited those concerned that the influence of secular musical aesthetics (i.e.: superfluous elaboration, clarity of the chorale melody, etc.) obscured the work's spiritual nature or meaning.

## **IId. Psalms and Chorales**

Intabulations of psalms are particularly problematic since they can be cataloged in three ways – by psalm number, by text incipit or both. Confusing the issue are psalm texts not identified as a psalm or psalm number, but exclusively by text incipit. In the lute

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<sup>29</sup> The German pedagogical print tradition, as seen in the sixteenth-century lute publications of Gerle and Neusidler, uses two and three voice polyphonic works as models for intabulations, not four voice homophonic harmonizations. For an explanation of the intabulation process and the addition of embellishments, see Marie Louise Göllner, "On the process of Lute Intabulation in the Sixteenth Century," in *Festschrift for Kurt Dorfmueller zum 60 Geburtstag* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1984), 83-96.

<sup>30</sup> Embellished arrangements, as one may expect, demand more skill from the player.

repertoire, there appear to be cases when a psalm intabulation is understood functionally as a psalm and other cases when it is understood as a spiritual song. This difference has serious consequences for cataloging the repertory, identifying transmission patterns and determining the popularity of individual hymns.

From the beginning of the Lutheran musical tradition, Luther paraphrased psalm texts to create new musical works. These works, however, were not identified as psalms or by psalm number, but by the text incipit. For example, Luther's *Ein feste Burg* is based on the text of psalm 46, but it does not appear *as* "Psalm 46." Luther made no distinction between sacred songs with paraphrased psalm texts, contrafacta or newly composed sacred poetry. He simply called this new sacred repertory either *geistliche* or *evangelischer Lieder*.<sup>31</sup> Within a few short decades, these became common and accepted terms to describe Lutheran chorales. Lute publications from both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflect this tradition.

However, in 1573, when Ambrosius Lobwasser published his German translation of the Geneva Psalter in Leipzig,<sup>32</sup> he not only capitalized on the recognition of the French melodies but also popularized a discrete Protestant musical tradition for lutenists in German speaking areas.<sup>33</sup> Though the popularity and reception of the Lobwasser

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<sup>31</sup> "Das geistliche lieder singen gut und Gott angemem sei acht ich sei seinem Christen verborgen..." Forward to Johann Walter's *Geystliches gesangk Buchleyn* (1524). Otto Schroder, *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953).

<sup>32</sup> Briefly outlined, the Geneva psalter (a.k.a. the "French psalter" or the "Huguenot Psalter") was a French metrical translation of the 150 biblical psalms with monophonic melodies published in 1562 by Theodore Beze & Loys Bourgeois as *Les pseumes mis en rime francoise, par Clément Marot, & Théodore de Bèze*. Lobwasser's version used the same melodies but translated the French text into German while retaining the original poetic meter. The popularity of Lobwasser's efforts cannot be understated; over 800 editions were printed between 1573 and 1800, see Robin Leaver, "Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition," in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. Henning P. Jürgens and Jan R. Luth Eckhard Grunewald (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 153.

<sup>33</sup> In German speaking areas, musically setting newly paraphrased psalm texts, or composing new melodies for the entire psalter was common both before and after Lobwasser's publication. See Hans Gamersfelder's

psalter has been studied recently, what has not been noted is one consequence of the publication that appears in lute publications - a distinction between *geistliche lieder* and *psalms of David*.<sup>34</sup> For lutenists, it is clear that psalms were understood as intabulations of the Geneva Psalter's original melodies with three or four-part harmonizations, while *geistliche lieder* became an inclusive term to include intabulations of the remaining sacred repertory – commonly referred to as chorales.<sup>35</sup>

These contrasting identifiers are explicit and frequently appear on the title pages of prints. The following examples demonstrate the contrasting use of the terms *geistliche Lieder* and *psalms of David*. The first three publications contain intabulations of vocal models with paraphrased psalm texts identified in the lute publication by text incipit only:

*Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten, von Moteten, / Frantzösischen, Welschen un Teütschen Geystlichen un / Weltlichen Liedern, sampt etlichen iren Texten, mit Vieren, Fünffen, / und Sechs stimmen.* Sebastian Ochsenkun (1558).

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*Der gantz Psalter Davids, in gesangs weyse gestelt* (1542, 1563), Sigmund Hemmel's *Der gantze Psalter Davids, wie derselbig in Teutsche Gesang verfasst* (1569) and the *Psalmen vnd Geistliche lieder* (1567), published for the Palatinate Calvinists. Attempts to set German translations to the French melodies appeared before Lobwasser as well, see Paul Melissus Schede's *Di Psalmen Davids in Teutische gesang reymen nach Französischer melodien* (1572). Perhaps the most famous publication that attempted to replace Lobwasser's psalter was Cornelius Becker's *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis auff die in Lutherischen Kirchen gewöhnliche Melodeyen zugerichtet* (1602); Heinrich Schütz set a number of Becker's melodies. However, these melodies and texts did not become popularized except in Saxony later in the century, nor did they replace Lobwasser's Psalter. In lute sources, this study has not identified examples of psalm melodies or harmonizations other than those appearing in the Lobwasser psalter or polyphonic arrangements based on these melodies. [DO YOU HAVE A CITATION TO SLOT IN HERE? NO TRAGEDY IF NOT, BUT THIS SEEMS TO BE PARAPHRASED FROM A SECONDARY SOURCE, YES?]

<sup>34</sup> See Peter and Furler Bernoulli, Frieder, ed., *Der Genfer Psalter: Eine Entdeckungsreise* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2001); Henning P. Jürgens and Jan R. Luth Eckhard Grunewald, ed., *Der Genfer Psalter und sine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004).

<sup>35</sup> Calvinist spiritual-song practice relied heavily on psalm singing. While collections of intabulated psalms do not necessarily reveal a Calvinist confessional bias on the part of the intabulator, they draw on Calvinist rather than strictly Lutheran traditions.

*Musikalisher Lustgarten, das ist: Herren D. Martini Lutheri, Wie auch anderer Gottseliger (der Reinen Augspurgischen Confession zugethaner) Männer / Geistliche Kirchen un Hauss Lieder auff Lautentabulatur gesetzt. Esaias Reusner (1645).*

*Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder welche auf die fest und andere Tage so wol in der Christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden: Gott allein zuerhern, mit fleis, nach itziger Manier, in die Laute geltzet, und auf instendiges Anhalten einger Liebhalber Zum kupfer befodert, und verlegt von Esaia Reusnern Chur Fürstl: Brandenb: Cammer Lautenisten. Esaias Reusner (1678).*

The following examples contain arrangements of the complete psalter for lute and identify each arrangement by psalm number:

*Cythara Sacra sive Psalmodiae Davidis ad vsvm Testudinis accomodatae. Matthias Reymann (1613).*

*Testudo Spiritualis / continens / Psalmos Davidis, juxta melodias Gallicas sive Lobwasseri ad testudinis non ineleganti modo accomodatos. Daniel Laelius (1617).*

Clearly, a distinction was both made and understood between paraphrased psalm text arrangements (*geistliche lieder*) and psalm text intabulations – especially after the publication of the Lobwasser psalter –through the use of the phrase *Psalms of David*.<sup>36</sup> Further, in extant German lute sources, the identification of a psalm intabulation by number (i.e.: Psalm 102) was infrequent before 1573 and became a standard method of identifying a Lobwasser or Huguenot arrangement only later in the century.

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<sup>36</sup> Lutheran attempts at setting the psalter predate Lobwasser's publication, though never gained the popularity of the collection. For example, Hans Sachs published *Dreytzehn Psalmen zusingen, in den vier hernach genotirten Thonen* in 1526, based closely on Luther's translation of the biblical psalms. The first complete psalter *Der Psalter, in neue Gesangs weise, und künstliche Reimen gebracht, durch Burcardum Waldis, mit ieder Psalmen besondern Melodien* was published by Burkhard Waldis in 1553. Nicholas Temperly, *Psalms, Metrical: II The European Continent: Germany (i) monophonic Psalters* *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [May 22 2007]). Note that these publications do not use the term "Psalms of David."

## **Ile. Psalms with Multiple Identifiers**

In both print and manuscript sources, some psalms are identified by *both* psalm number and German text incipit. [EXAMPLE: Psalm 46: *Zu Gott wir unser Zuflucht haben*]. This brings up a question of meaning: Did the intabulator *mean* that this intabulation was “Psalm 46” or “*Zu Gott wir unser Zuflucht haben*?” It seems plausible that the author meant both as a means of either exact or more convenient identification. In this instance, “Psalm 46 that has text beginning with the phrase *Zu Gott wir unser Zuflucht haben* using this musical arrangement.” This reasoning reflects what could be an intabulator’s similar confusion concerning the number of available psalm texts and corresponding melodies. With the number of paraphrased and metrical psalm texts available, the intabulator may have needed a linguistic reminder of either the psalm text itself, the correct strophe of the psalm, or the melody associated with the text.<sup>37</sup> The catalog developed for this study uses the psalm number as the primary identifier partly because the psalm number occurs first, thus giving more weight to the meaning of the psalm itself instead of the incipit.

## **IIf. Psalms with Multiple Text Identifiers**

There are two problematic printed psalm collections that have five text identifiers: Vallet’s *Regia Pietas* (1620) and Laelius’ *Cythara sacra* (1617). In both these prints, the psalm number and a text incipit in four languages (Latin, French, German and Dutch) identify each psalm intabulation. Obviously, this possess a significant challenge in cataloging and again brushes against the question of what the intabulator *meant* by

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<sup>37</sup> Psalms incipits do not always start with the first strophe of the psalm. For example, Lobwasser’s psalm 46 starts *Zuchzet den Herren*. Laelius’ psalm 46 starts *Zur Gott wir unser zuflucht*. (It is worth noting that Laelius states on his title page that his print is a complete lute setting of Lobwasser’s psalter).

identifying psalms in this manner. Taking into account the argument mentioned in IIc above, these two prints might suggest a widely targeted audience. Specifically, in titling the psalms five ways demonstrates that 1) the arrangement is based on a vocal model that contained metrical psalm text (either the Geneva or Lobwasser Psalters) given its appearance in a complete psalms collection after 1573 and 2) the text incipits serve not only as a way to identify the text sung to the intabulation but to appeal to a geographically wider and more cosmopolitan audience.<sup>38</sup>

Since this catalog is concerned with a historical German speaking audience, the question of identification again becomes a concern in two contexts: Did the consumers of these two prints recognize the psalms by psalm number or text incipit in their native language, and how should these psalms be cataloged, by psalm number or by German text incipit? Further problematizing the question is the origin of these prints. Since these two publications originate from the Low Countries, they cannot be properly considered German prints, though with the text incipits in German, they were suitable for a German speaking audience both in those areas and abroad.<sup>39</sup> This catalog considers these two

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<sup>38</sup> Because of the lack of confessional enforcement on the part of Dutch Republic, the Low Countries served as a place of refuge for Protestants. Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists and Catholics. Town councils (in Leiden and Haarlem, for example) formulated ecclesiastical policies that allowed these groups to co-exist, which created a culture of confessional tolerance in the country. Christine Kooi, "Popish Impudence: The Perversion of the Roman Catholic Faithful in Calvinist Holland, 1572-1620," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 1 (1995).

<sup>39</sup> Amsterdam became a reformed city in 1578 and was a haven for Huguenot and other religious populations throughout the seventeenth century. Given Amsterdam's geographic proximity to German speaking areas and the city's importance as an emerging commercial center, it seems reasonable to suggest that a German speaking population (however small) existed there during the early seventeenth century. Carl Bangs, "Dutch Theology, Trade and War: 1590-1610," *Church History* 39, no. 4 (1970): 470-71. Larger Calvinist populations in the Low Countries also included Cleves, Berg and Jülich. German areas that officially adopted Calvinism by 1600 were: Nassau, Electoral Palatinate, Upper Palatinate, Lower Hesse, Lippe and Anhalt. Regions that attempted to make Calvinism the official confession and failed were: Electoral Brandenburg, Saxony and Baden Durlach. Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 365-66.



prints as psalm collections and psalm numbers will identify all works as mentioned in section IIe.

As an example of the cataloging process, this study has identified 7 occurrences of *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* in both print and manuscript – a paraphrase of psalm 46 and commonly understood/transmitted as a chorale. There is an additional setting of “*Psalm 46*” in another psalm print for lute (*Cythara Sacra, Psalmodiae Davidis ad usum Testudinis*, Reyman 1613) and *Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben]* occurring in three sources, Laelius (1617), Vallet (1620) and LT-Va, Ms. 285 MF LXXIX. In an effort to present the broadest view possible of this repertoire, this study will rely on the initial identifier (psalm number) or incipit for cataloging purposes. Thus, in the above example, this study considers the three titles as separate sacred works; seven paraphrased versions of the chorale *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott*, one occurrence of *Psalm 46* and three settings of psalm 46, *Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben]*. This method not only identifies specific titles, but differentiates the various melodies of these settings.

### **III. Chorale Transmission Analysis**

In an effort to contextualize intabulated chorales within the lute repertoire, it is helpful to consider print and manuscript sources both separately and as a group. During the sixteenth century, lutenists intabulated almost every musical genre available: Masses, motets, secular vocal works (chanson, madrigal, lied), dances, abstract pieces (ricercars, fantasies, etc), psalms and chorales. By 1700, however, the intabulated repertoire was

comprised of only three genres: Instrumental suites, secular songs and chorales.<sup>40</sup> As intabulations based on secular vocal models gradually disappeared in the early seventeenth century and the transition to purely instrumental compositions coalesced into suites after 1650, only one purely sacred vocal genre for the lute repertoire remained – chorales. The chorale tradition in both print and manuscript emerges as the only sacred genre spanning the entire repertoire. They appeared, however, with much less frequency than their secular counterparts.

This study has cataloged 1,457 chorale intabulations for lute in both manuscript and print between 1523 and 1678: 1147 unique intabulations and 311 variations or alternative arrangements appearing in the same source. (See table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Distribution of Lute Chorales in Manuscript and Print (1523-1678).

	Number of Sources	Number of Chorales	Alternative Intabulations	Total
Manuscript	50	416	8	424
Print	20	731	303	1033
<b>Total</b>	70	1147	311	1457

As table 1 demonstrates, it is difficult to determine whether the transmission of lute chorales was exclusively a print or manuscript tradition given the contrast in the number of sources and the quantity of intabulations contained in the sources.<sup>41</sup> One could consider the number of sources separately and determine that the repertoire is more

<sup>40</sup> Note that prints dedicated to chorale intabulations were occasionally produced into the eighteenth century. See Adam Falckenhagen, *Erstes 12 erbauungsvoller geistlicher Gesänge mit Variationen, lute* (Nuremberg: 1746).

<sup>41</sup> Determining transmission patterns can aid in understanding the popularity of certain chorales. For example, *Mag ich Unglück nicht widerstahn*, made it's first appearance in Hans Judenkünig's *Ain schone kunstliche under weisung in disem büchlein* in 1523. This is over a decade before it appeared in Valentine Babst (1535). It also appeared in Hans Neusidler's *Ein Newgoerdent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (1536), *Ein neues Lautenbuchlein* (1540) and *Das Ander Buch* (1544). Note that all of Neusidler's arrangements are unique.

closely tied to the manuscript tradition. Contrastingly, if one were to make a determination based on the number of chorales produced, the repertoire emerges as a print tradition. While there are a greater number of chorale intabulation sources extant in manuscript, the size and comprehensive nature of the print sources makes for a larger sample of intabulated chorales.

However, the greater total number of intabulations in print is misleading, since five print sources (25% of the total) contribute over 95% of the printed output during the period and over 70% of the entire repertoire.<sup>42</sup> Further, these five sources appear in a short 65-year span (1613-1678). This spike in chorale output is not the result of a single episode but of a number of trends and events occurring before and through the period. As with the previous discussion of problematization, exploring the transmission patterns of lute chorales highlights another aspect of this repertoire. Specifically, aspects of these intabulations (such as intended text, function and confessional orientation) were hidden from view and known only to the compilers and consumers of these works.

### **IIIa. Popular Hymns**

Determining the most popular sacred songs for lute demonstrates which melodies became part of a standard repertory. Of particular interest is the lack of psalms, especially in sixteenth century German sources.<sup>43</sup> Table 1.2 demonstrates that despite the spike in psalm print production during the early seventeenth-century, the hymn repertoire for lute

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<sup>42</sup> These prints are: Matthias Reymann, *Cythara Sacra* (1613), Daniel Laelius, *Testudo Spiritualis* (1617), Nicolaes Vallet, *Regia Pietas* (1620), Esaias Reusner (Sr.), *Musicalischer Lust-Garten* (1645) and Esaias Reusner (Jr.), *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (1678). Though Vallet's *Regia Pietas* was printed in Amsterdam, this study includes this print as a part of the German-speaking chorale tradition principally because of the author's use of German titles for each intabulation. See Chapter 2 for an in-depth discussion of the psalm tradition for lute.

<sup>43</sup> See Chapter two for an in-depth discussion of the psalm tradition for lute.

consisted primarily of *geistliche lieder*. Since the most popular lute chorales occur with the greatest frequency in manuscript, it becomes evident that lute chorale “canon” was developed through this mode of transmission.

The apparent disinterest in psalm arrangements (in contrast to chorale settings) seems somewhat confusing at first given the popularity of both the Geneva and Lobwasser Psalters and the brief spike in psalm prints for lute in the early seventeenth-century. This may signal a number of possibilities, such as: 1) The popularity of these psalm melodies never transferred to instrumental modes of performance, 2) the relative late appearance of a complete musical setting of the psalter, 3) that *geistliche lieder* was an established Protestant musical genre that psalms could not overtake.<sup>44</sup> Likely, all three played a role but the weight of new instrumental and aesthetic trends from Italy and France could easily contribute to this apparent unpopularity.

Identifying the most popular chorales in the repertory is a somewhat problematic undertaking.<sup>45</sup> The relative lack of duplicate arrangements in both print and manuscript suggests that – for the intabulators – creating a unique arrangement of a chorale or psalm was not simply a musical exercise. Specifically, the intabulation process may have been a secondary operation, possibly (and perhaps primarily) thought of as a devotional act. Envisioned in this manner, the intabulation may have reflected not musical popularity, but religious meaning. It is possible then, that the text incipit was not only an identifier of the intabulation, but also had a deeper meaning; it alerted one to a subjective

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<sup>44</sup> It is also possible that the rash of sixteenth century organ iconoclasms during the Reformation process (Copenhagen, Zürich, Augsburg and Münster, for example) may have stemmed the interest in instrumental settings of sacred music. As an example of how some cities protected their church instruments through municipal control during this period, see Henry Bruinsma, "The Organ Controversy in the Netherlands Reformation to 1640.," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7, no. 3 (1954).

<sup>45</sup> A discussion appears below in “case study” format.

understanding of sacred verse. Thus, when examining individual chorales, we may be assessing the subjective meaning/understanding of non-printed, biblical text – not popular melodies or arrangements.

Since text underlay is an uncommon occurrence in German lute sources, the concept of hidden text transfers to intabulations of other vocal genres such as chansons, madrigal, motet, etc. The difference with these other genres, again, lies in the text. In these cases, the text is consistent; that is, not subject to a wide re-interpretation and wholesale recomposition of meaning.<sup>46</sup> This is in contrast to the Latin repertoire for lute (Masses and motets) where intabulations weighed musical concerns far above text, as seen in the arrangements of Josquin and Lassus where text is virtually absent in German lute sources. Chorale composition was a fluid ideal where laity became a part of the spiritual and poetic discourse - seen in the vast number of chorale texts printed throughout the history of the movement. This allowed a literate and spiritually engaged population to participate in a new religious arena as Protestantism broke down the barriers of communal participation and encouraged the individual to explore their own spiritually though personal and private means. For lutenists, this exploration may have centered on intabulating chorales and psalms.

Table 1.2 The Most Popular Chorales for Lute (Mss. & Print)

Most Popular Chorales (Mss & Print)					Most Popular Chorales (Mss)					Most Popular Chorales (Print)				
T	M	P	Date	Title	T	M	P	Date	Title	T	M	P	Date	Title
10	7	3	1529-1678	<i>Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein</i>	10	9	1	1575-1676	<i>Joseph, lieber Joseph mein</i>	10	4	6	1556-1620	<i>Bewahr mich, Herr</i>
10	8	2	1563-1678	<i>Der Tag der ist so freundenreich</i>	10	8	2	1563-1604	<i>Der Tag der ist so freundenrei</i>	9	3	6	1523-1645	<i>Mag ich Unglück nicht</i>

<sup>46</sup> New chorale texts were frequently composed to existing melodies in a process commonly understood as contrafacta. For those familiar with a text associated with a pre-existing melody, composing new text to those melodies would change the personalized meaning of the work.

									<i>ch</i>					<i>widerstah</i>
10	9	1	1575-1676	<i>Joseph, lieber Joseph mein</i>	10	8	2	1550-1640	<i>Nun lob mein Seel uns Gott den herren</i>	10	6	4	1556-1678	<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>
10	8	2	1550-1678	<i>Nun lob mein Seel uns Gott den herren</i>	10	7	3	1552-1640	<i>Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein</i>	8	4	4	1556-1678	<i>Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist</i>
10	6	4	1556-1678	<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>	9	7	2	1550-1678	<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i>	8	4	4	1583-1655	<i>Psalm 42</i>
10	7	2	1550-1678	<i>Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir</i>	9	7	2	1575-1640	<i>Danket dem Herren</i>	10	7	3	1529-1678	<i>Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein</i>
10	4	6	1556-1574	<i>Bewahr mich, Herr</i>	8	7	1	1533-1660	<i>Erstanden ist der heilig Christ</i>	8	5	3	1532-1678	<i>Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn</i>
9	7	2	1540-1678	<i>Vater unser in Himmelreich</i>	9	7	2	1540-1604	<i>Vater unser in Himmelreich</i>	8	5	3	1615-1678	<i>Ich dank dir lieber Herr</i>
9	7	2	1575-1678	<i>Danket dem Herren</i>	8	6	2	1596-1640	<i>Aus meines Hertzen Grunde</i>	8	5	3	1533-1678	<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i>
9	3	6	1523-1645	<i>Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstahn</i>	8	6	2	1569-1660	<i>Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt</i>	8	5	3	1574-1678	<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns</i>
8	7	1	1533-1645	<i>Erstanden ist der heilig Christ</i>	8	6	2	1596-1670	<i>Nun komm der heiden heiland</i>	5	2	3	1617-1678	<i>Wie nach einer Wasserquelle</i>
8	5	3	1532-1678	<i>Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn</i>	10	6	4	1596-1640	<i>Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ</i>	3	0	3	1617-1678	<i>Zu dir von Herten grunde</i>
8	5	3	1603-1678	<i>Ich dank dir lieber Herr</i>	7	5	2	1580-1630	<i>An Wasserflüssen Babylon</i>	4	1	3	1600-1620	<i>Psalm 46</i>
8	6	2	1569-1678	<i>Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt</i>	8	5	2	1591-1640	<i>Ein feste Burg</i>	4	1	3	1600-1625	<i>Psalm 65</i>
8	5	3	1533-1678	<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i>	8	5	3	1591-1637	<i>Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn</i>	4	1	3	1600-1625	<i>Psalm 57</i>
8	6	2	1596-1678	<i>Nun komm der heiden heiland</i>	8	5	3	1603-1637	<i>Ich dank dir lieber Herr</i>	4	1	3	1600-1625	<i>Psalm 16</i>
8	5	3	1550-1678	<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns</i>	8	5	3	1550-1620	<i>Jesus Christus, unser Heiland</i>	4	1	3	1600-1625	<i>Psalm 27</i>
8	4	4	1556-1678	<i>Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist</i>	8	5	3	1550-1625	<i>Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns</i>	4	1	3	1600-1625	<i>Psalm 37</i>

(T=Total; M=Manuscript; P=Print)

### III.b Chorales and Psalms in Print

Lute chorales began to appear in printed sources shortly before the second quarter of the sixteenth century. As table 1.3 demonstrates, the number of chorales published through the era is modest. Most sixteenth-century lute publications in Western Europe were anthologies of chanson, madrigal, lied, dance, Mass and motet intabulations. Publications containing newly composed instrumental works by a single composer were a rare occurrence in the context of the entire repertoire.<sup>47</sup> Yet even in the case of single-composer publications, the contents of these prints mostly reflected this tradition of printing diverse genres.

Table 1.3. 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century Lute Prints containing Chorale and Psalm Intabulations

Chorales	Date	Author	Title	Tablature Type	Tuning
1	1523	Judenk�nig, Hans <sup>48</sup>	Ain schone kunstiliche	German	Renaissance
1	1529	Agricola, Martin <sup>49</sup>	Musica instrumentalis deutsch	German	Renaissance
4	1532	Gerle, Hans <sup>50</sup>	Musica Teutsch	German	Renaissance
4	1533	Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Laudten	German	Renaissance
2	1536	Neusidler, Hans	Ein Newgoerdent K�nstlich Lau/tenbuch <sup>51</sup>	German	Renaissance
2	1540	Neusidler, Hans	Ein neues Lautenbuchlein	German	Renaissance
2	1544	Neusidler, Hans	Das Erst Buch	German	Renaissance
5	1556	Heckel, Wolf <sup>52</sup>	DISCANT / Lautten buch	German	Renaissance

<sup>47</sup> Though Dowland and other English composers of the late sixteenth-century frequently composed new music for lute and voice, publications containing strictly instrumental repertoire (dances, fantasies, ricercars, etc) exist. See, for example, Francesco Da Milano, *Intabolatura de lauto libro settimo* (Venice: Scotto, 1548). For a catalog of dances appearing in German tablature, see Jenny Dieckmann, *Die in deutscher Lautentabulatur  berlieferten T nze des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel: Barenreiter, 1931).

<sup>48</sup> Adolf Koczirz, "Der Lautenist Hans Judenk nig," *Sammelb nde der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 6, no. 2 (1905): 237-49.

<sup>49</sup> Gerald Hayes, "Virdung and Agricola," *The Musical Times* 68 (1927): 403-05.

<sup>50</sup> Christian Meyer, "Observations pour une analyse des temperaments des instruments a cordes pincees: le luth de Hans Gerle (1532)," *Revue de musicologie* 71, no. 1 (1985): 119-41; Jane Pierce, "Hans Gerle: Sixteenth-Century Lutenist And Pedagogue" (Dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1973), Jane Pierce, "Hans Gerle: Sixteenth-century Lutenist and Pedagogue." *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 6 (1973).

<sup>51</sup> Marc Southard and Suzana Cooper, "A Translation of Hans Newsidler's 'Ein newgeordent k nstlich Lautenbuch.'" *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 11 (1978): 5-25.

5	1558	Ochsenkun, Sebastian <sup>53</sup>	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten <sup>54</sup>	German	Renaissance
5	1562	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	German	Renaissance
1	1572	Jobin, Bernhart	Das Erste Büch	German	Renaissance
1	1573	Waissel, Matthäus	Tabulatura / Contines <sup>55</sup>	German	Renaissance
2	1574	Neusidler, Melchior <sup>56</sup>	Teutsch Lauten/buch	German	Renaissance
5	1586	Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	German	Renaissance
150 - 300	1613	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	French	Renaissance
2	1615	Georg Leopold Fuhrmann <sup>57</sup>	Testudo Gallo-Germanica	French	Renaissance
152	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	French	Renaissance
150 - 303	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes <sup>58</sup>	Regia Pietas	French	Renaissance
98	1645	Reusner, Esaias (Sr.) <sup>59</sup>	Musikalisher Lustgarten	French	Renaissance
151	1678	Reusner, Esaias <sup>60</sup>	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	French	Baroque

Of the 50 extant lute prints originating from German speaking lands during the sixteenth century, only 14 contain chorale intabulations. Further, of the 1457 chorales identified in this study, only 37 (3%) occur in sixteenth-century prints. This is in contrast to the almost 1000 (approximately 70%) appearing in prints from the 1600s. The

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<sup>52</sup> Gary Beckman, "The Lute Duets of Wolff Heckel: A Transcription and Study of the 1562 Reprint of his "Lautten Büch" Duets in Modern Notation, French Lute Tablature and Guitar Notation." (Thesis, University of New Hampshire, 2001); Christopher Dupraz, "Duos de luths en Allemagne dans la première partie du XVIe siècle: Hans Wecker (1552) et Wolf Heckel (1556/1562)" (paper presented at the Luths et luthistes en Occident: actes du colloque organisé par la Cité de la musique, 13-15 mai 1998., Paris, 1999); Christopher Dupraz, "Le duo de luths sur modèle vocal à la Renaissance: Vers une typologie du répertoire.," in *La musique de tous les pasetemps le plus beau : hommage a Jean-Michel Vaccaro*, ed. Francois and Vanhust Lesure, Henri (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998), 121-51.

<sup>53</sup> Choon Mee Hong, "Sebastian Ochsenkun's "Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten" (1558): Transcription and Study" (Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1984).

<sup>54</sup> John Robinson, "Ornamentation in Sebastian Ochsenkun's Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 15 (1982): 5-26.

<sup>55</sup> Douglas Alton Smith, "The Instructions of Matthaues Waissel's Lautenbuch," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 8 (1975): 49-79.

<sup>56</sup> Charles Jacobs, "Melchior Neusidler: Intabulation and transcription.," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 20-21 (1987-1988): 108-19.

<sup>57</sup> Jurgen May, *Georg Leopold Fuhrmanns Testudo Gallo-Germanica: Ein Lautentabulaturdruck aus dem Jahre 1615*, vol. XXXVI (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1992).

<sup>58</sup> D. Scheurleer, "Het Luitboek van Nicolaes Vallet," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 5, no. 1 (1895): 13-39.

<sup>59</sup> Koletschka, "Esaias Reusner Vater und Sohn und ihre Choralbearbeitungen für die Laute: eine Parallele."

<sup>60</sup> Koletschka, "Esaias Reusner der Jüngerer und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts."



difference in quantity is reflective of the musical print tradition. The sixteenth century was an era that prized the anthology and as the seventeenth-century grew closer, the importance of assembling publications dedicated to single genres emerged as a priority. Not surprising, is the fact that the printed lute repertoire originating from sixteenth-century reformed cities contained the most chorales.<sup>61</sup>

Though the history of printed lute music in Early Modern Germany remains to be written, some trends can be gleaned from the surviving exemplars: 1) The sixteenth-century was the most prolific period of lute music printing with 50 extant publications, 2) printed output declines during the first half seventeenth-century and 3) regains some strength after 1650 – though never reclaiming its former popularity.<sup>62</sup> German production of lute prints never reached the levels of either French or Italian output in the sixteenth-century. The dearth of production in the next century appears remarkable given that printing had, by that time, become a part of not only urban life, but musical culture as well. The Thirty Years War (1618-1648), however, which had a significant effect on the territories involved, also had a stifling effect on music printing. Diana Poulton describes this era as a “period of comparative inactivity,” which underestimates the impact of the war in German territories.<sup>63</sup> These political and religious struggles had such a negative effect on the musical life in the region, that recovery wasn’t complete until the next century after it “broke off abruptly” at the beginning of the conflict.<sup>64</sup> Likewise, the “General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century” and increased cost of raw materials put

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<sup>61</sup> Lutenists originating from Nuremberg (Hans Gerle and Hans Neusidler) and Strasbourg (Sixtus Kargel, Bernhart Jobin and Wolff Heckel) produced the most lute chorales in the sixteenth century.

<sup>62</sup> Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 3 ed. (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

<sup>63</sup> Diana Poulton, "Lute: Repertory," in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: MacMillan, 2000).

<sup>64</sup> John Kmetz, Germany: Art Music to 1648 *Grove Music Online* L. Macy (Accessed [March 23 2007]).

further pressure on both mercantilism and printers as well.<sup>65</sup> Two lute prints, however, appeared during this period; one by Johann David Mylius, *Thesarus gratiarum* (Frankfurt, 1622), a significant collection of sixteenth-century secular arrangements and the other by Esaias Reusner (Sr.), *Musikalisher Lustgarten* (Breslau, 1645), a print completely comprised of chorales – the first of two produced in the 1600s.

The seventeenth-century decrease in German print sources for the lute was not simply occasioned by historical events. The instrument was undergoing a significant transition in both construction and repertoire consolidation.<sup>66</sup> Coupled with the effects of the Thirty Years War, a general economic malaise, extreme changes in musical aesthetics and in the construction of the lute it seems remarkable that both these publications appeared.

### **IIIc. Chorales and Psalms in Manuscript**

Though a number of sixteenth-century manuscripts contain chorales, they are not present in any significant quantity. This study has identified 418 chorales and psalms intabulated for lute appearing in manuscript between 1525 and 1678. Overall, the contents mirror anthologized prints (for manuscripts compiled in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) in which the majority of intabulations are either dances or vocal

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<sup>65</sup> For a survey of the scholarly debate surrounding the “General Crisis of the Seventeenth-Century” and an attempt at contextualizing German areas in that discussion see Sheilagh Ogilvie, “Germany and the Seventeenth-Century Crisis,” *The Historical Journal* 35, no. 2 (1992): 417-41. Briefly outlined: For the past 50 years, historians have debated whether the seventeenth-century continent-wide crisis (as seen by economic turmoil, war, disease and famine during the 1560-1660 period) was economic, political, socio-economic, ecological or demographic. For one historian, however, the arts served as a barometer of the “Crisis” where the taste for passion and extremity in the arts during the early seventeenth-century was replaced by a subdued appreciation for the arts by the end of the century. See Theodore Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).

<sup>66</sup> For two recent discussions on the instrument’s development, see Smith, *A history of the lute from antiquity to the Renaissance*, Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music*.

works. Psalm intabulations in manuscripts occur, though not significantly – even after Lobwasser and the spike in psalm print production in the early 1600s. Most manuscript sources after 1660 are dedicated to suites. Assuming that a chorale is a personalized and private form of musical expression, it is somewhat surprising that such works do not appear with greater frequency in manuscripts. This suggests that for Early Modern lutenists, personalized collections of lute intabulations were not a means of professing confessional identity *per se*, but for entertainment or devotion in either a private, domestic or public context.<sup>67</sup>

A distinct trend in the ordering of lute manuscripts is discernable, however. Around the turn of the seventeenth-century and continuing through the early 1700s, lute manuscripts were arranged according to genre. For example, manuscript A-Lla 475, now held in the Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv in Linz, Austria exhibits this grouping. Compiled circa 1600 by Michael Eysertt in Nuremberg, this collection contains 255 intabulations of lieder, madrigals, motets, dances and chorales.<sup>68</sup> Each genre occupies a distinct section in the manuscript, though without specific identification.<sup>69</sup> This manuscript contains almost 50 arrangements of sacred songs by Johan Matthesius, Ludwig Öler, Adam Reißner and other lesser-known names. The collection also features the original chorale melodies of Martin Luther, which are roughly grouped together within this section of intabulations. This is contrast to manuscripts originating from the earlier century. For example, A-Wn 19259, of possible German origin and held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, resembles the anthologized design of

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<sup>67</sup> Chapter three will propose that intabulating and performing chorales and psalms was a method to *explore* one's spiritual and confessional identity.

<sup>68</sup> Meyer, *Sources Manuscrites en Tablature: Luth et Theorbe (c.1500-c.1800)*, 98-106.

<sup>69</sup> The last thirteen pieces are unordered, however.

sixteenth-century lute prints.<sup>70</sup> This 1564 source contains 30 intabulations of chansons, lieder, motets, psalms and an arrangement of Clemens non Papa's *Gott ist mein licht*, yet exhibits no overt grouping. A move toward grouping, however, is evident in this print. Two psalms from the Geneva psalter appear concurrently - psalms 129 and 130.

Chorale intabulations in lute manuscripts, however, exhibit an unusual feature when compared to secular vocal models. The majority of chorale intabulations (over 90%) have no print concordances.<sup>71</sup> This percentage could be skewed as non-extant publications may have been models for these arrangements. Additionally, the relative unpopularity of chorales as compared to other secular genres may have been more pronounced than we presently understand.<sup>72</sup>

Table 1.4 identifies manuscript sources containing intabulations of both chorales and psalms. A number of aspects merit comparison with prints. First, the number of sources (50) is more than double that of the print sources. Similar to the print tradition, the number of chorales and psalms contained in each sixteenth-century manuscript source (until the last decade) is mostly insignificant. However, the amount of chorale intabulations in seventeenth-century manuscript sources (316) is more than twice the number appearing in print. Psalms occurring in manuscript presents a contrasting view. There are only 69 works appearing in manuscript identified as a psalm, followed by a corresponding psalm number. This is contrast to the 451 psalm intabulations published in just the seventeenth century.

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<sup>70</sup> Meyer, *Sources Manuscrites en Tablature: Luth et Theorbe (c.1500-c.1800)*, 135-37.

<sup>71</sup> Some concordances originally in print appear in **LT**-Va Ms. 285 MF LXXIX, held in the Central Library of Lithuanian Academy of Science in Vilnius. For example, *Aus meines Hertzen Grunde* is attributed to Conrad Neusidler (son of the prolific Nuremberg lutenists and pedagogue Hans Neusidler) and appears in the following manuscripts: **D**-W Ms. Codex Guelf. 18.7 Aug. 2 f. 65 and **D**-LEm II.6.15 p. 531.

<sup>72</sup> Note that this follows the tradition of printed chorale intabulations where the reprinting of lute chorale intabulations is virtually non-existent.

Table 1.4 Lute Manuscripts containing Chorale and Psalm Intabulations

Chorales	# of Pieces	Date	Library	Call Number	Tablature Type	Tuning	Provenance
1	19	1525	D-WER1	Musikalien Nr. 6	Renaissance	German	Nuremberg ?
4	78	1533-1550	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 1512	Renaissance	German	Bavaria
1		c.1536-1550	US-Wc	?	Renaissance	German	
2	17	1540-1550	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 270	Renaissance	Italian	unknown
4	51	1550-1552	RF-Königsberg	Gen. 2. 150	Renaissance	German	Reichertswalde
3	189	1550-1570	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 266	Renaissance	Italian	Augsburg
1	8	c.1550	CH-SAM	Mus. Ms. 266	Renaissance	German	Bavaria
1	51	c.1550	PL-Kj	40154	Renaissance	German	Bavaria
6	62	1552	D-B	Mus. ms. 40588 <sup>73</sup>	Renaissance	German	Zürich?
2	151	1561-1577	NL-At	Ms. 208 A. 27	Renaissance	German	Dresden & Leipzig
1	46	1563	CH-SAM	Mus. Ms. 1	Renaissance	French	Basle
6	111	c.1563-1570	PL-Kj	W 510	Renaissance	German	Strasbourg ?
3	30	1564	A-Wn	19259	Renaissance	French	Germany
1	42	1565	D-B	Mus. ms. 40632 <sup>74</sup>	Renaissance	German	Bavaria
1	5	1569-1593	D-LEm	Ms. II.2.45	Renaissance	German	Heidelberg
5	120	1571-1575	PL-Kj	40598	Renaissance	German	Frankfurt a. M.
4	24	1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.23	Renaissance	German	Basle?
3	42	1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.X.11	Renaissance	German	Basle?
1	35	c.1575	CZ-Bsa	G 10,1400	Renaissance	German	Moravia
2	7	c.1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.39	Renaissance	German	Bavaria?
2	70	1579	D-DE1	BB 12150	Renaissance	German	Tübingen
3	25	1580-1585	PL-Kj	40583	Renaissance	German	Germany
6	412	1580-1595	D-DO	Ms. G I 4	Renaissance	German	S. Germany

<sup>73</sup> Meyer, "Observations pour une analyse des temperaments des instruments a cordes pincees: le luth de Hans Gerle (1532)," 119-41.

<sup>74</sup> Kwee Him Yong, "Sixteenth-Century Printed Instrumental Arrangements of Works by Josquin des Prez. An Inventory," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 22 (1971): 43-52, 54-66.

4	167	1583-5	<b>IRL-</b> Dtc	Ms. 410/1	Renaissance	French	Cambridge
1	84	1590-1600	<b>D-Z</b>	115.3	Renaissance	German	Zatec, Cz.
23	500	1591-1594	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	Renaissance	German	Basle
4	127	1592	<b>CZ-Pu</b>	59r.469	Renaissance	German	Zatec, Cz
7	87	1594-1603	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40143	Renaissance	French	Cologne
22	74	1596-1605	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	Renaissance	German	Ettenheim
5	45	1600-1620	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fū 9825	Renaissance	French	Germany
74	280	1600-1625	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX <sup>75</sup>	Renaissance	French	Königsberg
2	74	1600-1633	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.23	Renaissance	French	Wurzburg?
48	255	c.1600	<b>A-Lla</b>	475	Renaissance	German	Aurolzmünster
1	99	c.1600	<b>Cz-Pnm</b>	Ms. XIII.B.237	Renaissance	German	Czech.
1	74	1603	<b>D-Dl</b>	M 297	Renaissance	French	Germany
33	113	1603-1604	<b>D-W</b>	Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Augustus 2	Renaissance	Italian	Augsburg
13	137	1607-1620	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40141	Renaissance	French	N. Germany
1	71	1608	<b>CZ-Pu</b>	XXIII.F.174 <sup>76</sup>	Renaissance	German	Bohemia
1	212	1610?	<b>D-Kl</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 108 I	Renaissance	French	Hesse
3	45	1610-20	<b>S-SC</b>	PB. fil. 172 Per Brahe	Renaissance	French	unknown
1	166	1615-1620	<b>D-Ngm</b>	33748 I	Renaissance	French	Bavaria
20	582	1619	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15 <sup>77</sup>	Renaissance	German	Germany
1	517	c.1620	<b>NL-Lt</b>	Ms. 1666	Renaissance	French	Amsterdam
1	18	1622	<b>S-SC</b>	Ms. B	Renaissance	French	unknown
4	15	1625-1630	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. III.11.26	Renaissance	French	Germany
5	200	1630-1660	<b>RF-SPan</b>	O.N.124	Transitional	French	Germany
11	100	c.1630	<b>D-Lr</b>	Ms. 4 Mus.	Renaissance	French	unknown

<sup>75</sup> Charles Turner, "The Königsberg Manuscript: A Facsimile of Manuscript 285-MF-LXXIX (olim Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Königsberg, Msc. A116.fol.) Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Vilnius by Arthur J. Ness, John M. Ward," *Notes* 49, no. 2 (1992): 804-06.

<sup>76</sup> Andras Kecskes, "Newer Data on the Origin of an Eastern European Son," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21, no. 2 (1979): 309-18.

<sup>77</sup> John Ward, "Apropos 'The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music'," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20, no. 1 (1967): 28-86.

				2000			
3	34	1635-1640	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40159	Renaissance	French	Königsberg
14	36	1637	<b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. Mus. 688	Renaissance	French	Hamburg
14	87	1640	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021 <sup>78</sup>	Transitional	French	Königsberg
1	159	1640-1650	<b>A-KR</b>	L 81	Transitional	French	Innsbruck
19	167	1655 - 1660	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264 <sup>79</sup>	Baroque	French	Danzig
6	358	1665-1670	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	Transitional	French	Wurttemberg?
1	65	1676	<b>A-Wengel</b>	NA	Baroque	French	Germany
1	347	c.1680	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.24	Baroque	French	Germany

### IIId. Printed Psalms & Collections of 100

The sixteenth-century tradition of printing complete psalm collections is significant for its contribution to the number of printed psalms for lute.<sup>80</sup> This began with the metrical translations of the psalms by Clement and Marot, followed by Bourgeois's monophonic settings and finally, Goudimel's polyphonic arrangements. The lute repertoire mirrored this model as French intabulators began the process of arranging psalms for the instrument, beginning with LeRoy and Morlaye in the mid 1550s. This tradition of intabulating psalms and collecting them in a single print culminated in the next century, when a number of publications arranged all 150 psalms for lute. A small number of these prints contained multiple arrangements of the same psalm; typically a

<sup>78</sup> Turner, "The Königsberg Manuscript: A Facsimile of Manuscript 285-MF-LXXIX (olim Preussisches Staatsarchiv, Königsberg, Msc. A116.fol.) Central Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Science, Vilnius by Arthur J. Ness, John M. Ward."

<sup>79</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger, "Die Gagliarda Italjana. Zur Frage der barocken Thementypologie," *Acta Musicologica* 39, no. 1 (1967): 92-100; Monique Rollin, "Oeuvres de Pierre Gautier," *Revue de musicologie* 72, no. 1 (1986).

<sup>80</sup> See Chapter two for an in-depth discussion of the psalm tradition for lute.

homophonic (or literal) version followed by one that is more virtuosic and/or more idiomatic for the lute.<sup>81</sup>

The emerging early seventeenth-century practice of printing a collection of 100 exemplars of a genre in a single collection, first seen in Viadana's *100 Concerti Ecclesiastici* (1602, 1615), also contributes to the high number of lute chorales present in the repertoire after the early 1600s. Specifically, two publications by father and son Esaias Reusner (Sr.) and Esaias Reusner (Jr.) typify how this Italian development took hold in German-speaking lands. Esaias Reusner's (Sr.) *Musicalischer Lust-Garten* (1645) is a collection of 98 chorales; his son's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (1678) contains 151 chorales. This development is distinct from the printing practices of the previous century, as anthologies and prints dedicated to the output of single composer or anthologies were the norm.<sup>82</sup>

#### IV. Case Study: Luther's Hymns

Using Luther's musical works, we can come to some understanding concerning the popularity of certain groups of chorales.<sup>83</sup> Table 1.5a shows that of the roughly 1,470 chorales cataloged in this study, almost 10% of the total originated from Luther. Of Luther's eighteen chorales, four appear most frequently in lute manuscript sources, *Ach*

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<sup>81</sup> The psalm prints from Reymann (1613) and Vallet (1620) contain over 300 intabulations each.

<sup>82</sup> For the most complete catalog of sixteenth century lute prints, see Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*. Note that anthology publications were popular throughout both periods and the seventeenth-century may have reflected the *kunstammer* tradition - a somewhat popular phenomenon of collecting oddities and rarities. In this context, diverse exemplars of musical composition emerge as collectable, unique and varied. See Susan Lewis, "Collecting *Italia* Abroad: Anthologies of Italian Madrigals in the Print World of Northern Europe." (Dissertation, Princeton University, 2001). Note that the Reusner publications also reflect an established practice of compendium intabulations begun with the Vallet, Reymann and Lalius psalm prints in the early seventeenth century,

<sup>83</sup> Luther's musical oeuvre is a somewhat fluid concept. All chorales attributed to Luther in this study are from the *New Grove* list of his works.



*Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein; Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir; Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, and *Vater unser in Himmelreich*. Note that these chorales all appeared in both print and manuscript sources. Overall, thirteen Luther chorales appeared in lute sources at least once.

Chorales attributed to Luther and derived from earlier German song models (10) are transmitted similarly as Luther's original hymns. Only two "Luther chorales" were never arranged for the instrument - *Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben* and *Unser grosse Sünde*. This may not be surprising, since those two chorales never became a part of the standard Lutheran repertory, whether vocal or instrumental. Two of the "Luther Chorales" based on Latin hymns were set repeatedly in manuscript sources - *Nun komm der heiden heiland* and *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland*; the remaining four chorales in this group were not arranged for lute.

Only two of Luther's seven liturgical hymns appear in either print or manuscript. This seems somewhat unusual given the popularity this group of chorales in the organ repertoire. This may suggest a distinction between chorales deemed "suitable" for lute and those considered "suitable" for organ. Perhaps chorales with a distinct liturgical function remained in the domain of public worship (organ) - not suitable for other environments (lute).

Table 1.5a. Luther Chorales Appearing in Lute Manuscripts and Prints (Total)

Type of Chorale	Total	Print	Mss
Original Luther Chorales	58	21	37
Chorales based on Latin Models	17	5	12
Chorales based on German Models	36	18	18
Liturgical Chorales	2	1	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>68</b>

Table 1.5b. Luther Hymns Appearing in Lute Manuscripts and Prints

	Total	Print	Mss.		Total	Print	Mss.
<b>Original Luther Chorales</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>Chorales based on Latin Models (cont.)</b>			
Ach Gott vom Himmel, sieh darein	10	3	7	Nun komm der heiden heiland	8	2	6
Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir	9	2	7	Verleih uns Frieden gnädlich	1	0	1
Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam	3	2	1	Was fürcht'st du, Feind Herode	0	0	0
Dies sind die heiligen zehn gebot	3	2	1	<b>Chorales based on German Models</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>
Ein feste Burg	7	2	5	Christ ist erstanden	5	2	3
Ein neues Lied wir haben an	0	0	0	Christ lag in Todesbanden	5	2	3
Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort	4	2	2	Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	10	4	6
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund	3	2	1	Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	3	2	1
Es woll uns Gott genädig sein	1	0	1	Gott sei gelobet und gebendeiet	1	1	0
Mensch willst du leben seliglich	0	0	0	Mitten wir im Leben sind	2	1	1
Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin	0	0	0	Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist	7	4	3
Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein	1	1	0	Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben	0	0	0
Sie ist mir lieb die werthe Magd	0	0	0	Unser grosse Sünde	0	0	0
Vater unser in Himmelreich	9	2	7	Wir glauben all in einem Gott	3	2	1
Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her	5	2	3	<b>Liturgical Chorales</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar	1	1	0	All Ehr und Lob soll Gottes	1	0	1
Wär Gott nich mit uns diese Zeit	1	1	0	Christe du Lamm Gottes	0	0	0
Wohl dem, der in Gottes Furcht steht	0	0	0	Herr Gott dich loben wir	1	1	0
<b>Chorales based on Latin Models</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>12</b>	Ich dank dem Herrn	0	0	0
Christum wir sollen loben schon	0	0	0	Ich will den Herrn loben	0	0	0
Der du bist drei in Einigkeit	0	0	0	Jesaja dem Propheten	0	0	0
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland	8	3	5	Lobet den Herrn	?	?	?
Komm Gott, Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist	0	0	0				

\* Due to the lack of complete text incipits occurring in the sources, it is unclear which chorale melodies are used.

Analyzing this broad data set, we can come to some understanding about the transmission patterns of Luther's musical works in lute sources. Luther's chorales appear more frequently in manuscript than print. This is due to manuscript sources transmitting more of his original *geistliche lieder* (by almost 2:1) and chorales based on Latin models (by more than 2:1). Likewise, chorales based on German models appear to be popular in both mediums (exactly 1:1). Contrastingly, chorales based on liturgical models are not transmitted in any great quantity in the sources. This suggests that lutenists prized Luther's original compositions and contrafacta of popular melody more than contrafacta of Latin models or his liturgical hymns.

When examining which chorales were most popular for lutenists, we can see commonalities with and some differences from the organ repertory. *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein, Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir, Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ* and *Vater unser in Himmelreich* emerge as popular chorales in both repertories. Chorales that are a part of the standard organ canon (especially those made famous by J. S. Bach) such as *Christ lag in Todesbanden, Christ ist erstanden, Wir glauben all in einem Gott, Herr Gott dich loben wir, Komm Gott, Schöpfer Heiliger Geist* and *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, appear with less frequency in lute sources. This may imply that certain Luther chorales were deemed more suitable to a specific instrument, context or place. Likewise, lutenists appear attracted to lesser-known chorales such as *Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist* and *Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort*.

In the context of the lute chorale repertory, however, Luther's works comprise less than 10% of the total number of sacred songs for the instrument. This may reflect either an interest in other composers' works or the fact that the reformer's chorales

simply were not as popular for this demographic. What appears clear, however, is that musical concerns (or perhaps musical taste) guided the selection of intabulations - though the text of the vocal models and accessible arrangements could certainly have been on the minds of the intabulators.

## **V. Chapter Conclusions**

Assessing lute chorales does not simply involve counting occurrences and collating into transmitted mediums. The lack of underlaid text and obfuscation of chorale melody can create ambiguities within the intabulation, only partially solved by the text incipit, which is merely a clue that only suggests possible texts. The meanings of these works are partly woven with the question of whether they were to accompany vocal performance of the chorales. Though that question will be addressed in Chapter three, it seems reasonable to suggest here that text was an important and hidden aspect of these arrangements. The lack of embellished versions of these works (as compared to their Latin counterparts, for example) flows neatly into the idea that something more was attempted in these works than simply providing a homophonic (or amateur) arrangement of a Protestant praise song. The “more” may be obscured and held in the minds of those experiencing and performing these intabulations, but at the very least, these arrangements held meaning to the consumers and compilers of these sources.

In summary, the cataloging process has attempted to grasp and characterize what sixteenth- and seventeenth-century intabulators meant to convey through their collections. By erring on the side of text incipits, modern lutenists and scholars will have the broadest view of the repertoire possible and will be able to correlate the original or

contrafacta text to a specific intabulation. Additionally, using the psalm number to identify and locate specific psalm intabulations will provide a direct method for those interested in the psalm repertoire for lute.

It seems plausible to suggest that the act of intabulating chorales and psalms may have been an act of praise or worship in the context of private devotion. Considering the amount of time required to create these polyphonic arrangements, (either newly composed or intabulated from part books) and/or the cost of part books and paper, it seems reasonable that creating new lute works in order to praise God might fall into this category.

A clue may reside in larger sources in which psalms and chorales were grouped together. Separate and removed from secular repertoires by virtue of organization, these works may reflect a personal/spiritual understandings or preferences of the user where private spiritual life was compartmentalized and held separate from the outside world. If considered as two separate streams of spiritual meaning and practice, *geistliche Lieder* and psalms serve distinct functions: one where biblical text is explicit and unwavering (psalms), the other (*geistliche Lieder*) where one is allowed to reflect upon, express and perform a personalized spiritual understanding through the combined arts of poetry and music. In order to understand the different functions of these two types of sacred-song models, we shall now examine each tradition separately, beginning with the intabulations of psalms.

## Chapter 2: Early Seventeenth-Century Psalm Prints

### I. Introduction

Perhaps the most remarkable period in the history of the sacred repertoire for lute occurs between 1613 and 1620. In seven years, three lutenists arranged the entire psalter for lute. Totalling over 750 intabulations based on different settings of the Geneva Psalter, these prints represent a significant portion of the Protestant repertory for the instrument. Notable in this achievement is that each setting is unique – not a single one of the psalm settings is a reprint from other publications.

Whether these prints played a significant role in disseminating the Geneva psalms (as compared to their vocal counterparts) is difficult to determine. Their appearance suggests that instrumental accompaniment to psalm singing may have been a mode of private worship for Protestants – at least in these areas. This need for instrumental accompaniment, however, was not limited to the lute, as psalm publications were produced for cittern as well, though not in similar quantity.<sup>84</sup> This Chapter will place these lute prints – and their French predecessors – in the historical and developmental context of the Geneva Psalter.

### II. The Four Seventeenth-Century Psalm Prints and the Lobwasser Psalter

Printed intabulations of the psalter for lute began in 1613 with Matthaeus Reyman's *Cythara Sacra sive psalmodiae davidis ad usum testudinis*, published in

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<sup>84</sup> See Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (London: William Barley, 1599), Adrian Le Roy, *Second Livre de Cistre, Contenant les Commandemens de Dieu: Six Pseaumes de David* (Paris: le Roy & Ballard, 1564), Frederic Viaera, *NOVA ET ELEGANTISSIMA IN CYTHARA LUDENDA CARMINA QUAE VIDELICET IN SOLA CYTHATA VEL ETIAM* (Lovain: Phalese, 1564). For cittern publications containing chorales, see Sixtus Kargel, *Toppel Cythar* (Strassburg: Bernhard Jobin, 1575). For the largest manuscript source of psalms and chorales arranged for cittern, see PL-Tm J.40.342-102682.

Cologne. Two years later, Amsterdam lutenist Nicolaes Vallet published his first psalm collection, *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids*. In 1617 Daniel Laelius published *Testudo Spritualis continens Psalmos Davidis, juxta melodias Gallicas sive Lobwasseri ad testudinis usum non ineleganti modo accommodatos* in Arnhem. Vallet's last psalm print *Regia Pietas* appeared in 1620, originating again in Amsterdam. These prints were produced in cities along the upper Rhine valley and contain no overt religious bias.

However, Laelius' publication suggests some confessional orientation, claiming his intabulation is an arrangement of the Lobwasser psalter.<sup>85</sup> Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515-1585), a staunch Lutheran, translated Marot and Beze's *Geneva Psalter* into German in 1565 while keeping the original meter of the poetry; the first printing appeared in 1573.<sup>86</sup> The popularity of Lobwasser's psalter simply cannot be understated. It was reprinted hundreds of times until the late eighteenth-century throughout Protestant Europe.<sup>87</sup> Lobwasser's use of the Calvinist melodies was controversial, however. Charges of "crypto-Calvinism" were thrown at Lobwasser's effort, though, as Robin Leaver has proven, melodies from the *Geneva Psalter* appeared with some regularity in the chorale repertory well before Lobwasser finished his translations.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ambrosius Lobwasser, *Der Psalter dess königlichen Propheten Davids, in deutsche reyme verstendiglich und deutlich gebracht* (Leipzig: 1573).

<sup>86</sup> Walter Blankenburg, Lobwasser, Ambrosius *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 13 2006]).

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.; Andreas Marti, "Der Genfer Psalter: Daten und Namen," in *Der Genfer Psalter: Eine Entdeckungsreise*, ed. Peter Bernoulli and Frieder Furler (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2001).

<sup>88</sup> "Crypto-Calvinism" originated when Melancthon was charged with discarding Luther's theological teachings and adopting a Calvinist orientation in his theological views after Luther died in 1546. This debate raged until the *Formula of Concord* in 1577. Especially concerning to Orthodox Lutherans was any charge of crypto-Calvinism. Lobwasser's psalter was particularly vulnerable to the charge as it retained the original Calvinist melodies of the *Geneva Psalter*. Robin Leaver, "Genevan Psalm Tunes in the Lutheran Chorale Tradition," in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. Eckhard Gruenwald, Henning Jürgens, and Jan Luth (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 145-46, 62-66.

As a reaction to the Lobwasser psalter, some re-translated the psalms to make them doctrinally correct and remove any hint of the Calvinist melodies. Perhaps the most famous is Cornelius Becker's (1561-1604) *Der Psalter Davids Gesangweis auff die in Lutherischen Kirchen gewöhnliche Melodeyen zugerichtet*, first printed in Leipzig (1602) extending to 25 editions by 1712. Though Becker's attempt at overtaking Lobwasser's translation failed, Becker's melodies and text were set by a number of composers including Heinrich Schütz in 1628 with a publication of simple harmonizations.<sup>89</sup> Others attempted to "correct" Lobwasser's translations and return the psalter to true Lutheran doctrine. Johann Wüstholtz (published his *Der Lutherische Lobwasser, das ist Der ganz Psalter Davids* (1617), with the intent to transform the psalter into a Lutheran compendium of psalms while retaining the French melodies.<sup>90</sup> Martin Opitz (1597-1639), the most famous poet of the period in German speaking areas, translated the *Geneva Psalter* as well, though like Becker, his work could not overtake the popularity of Lobwasser's effort.<sup>91</sup>

This brief diversion into Lobwasser's work and its reception is important to the psalm repertory for lute. Given one intabulator's clear alignment with this work, it hints at both confessional orientation and the print's intended market. However, given the crypto-Calvinist charges leveled at this work, it remains somewhat problematic to concretely declare any intabulator's confessional orientation.

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<sup>89</sup> Joshua Rifkin and Eva Linfield, Schütz, Heinrich 2. Early manhood (1615–27). *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 2 2006]).

<sup>90</sup> Lars Kessner, "Lutherische Reaktionen auf den Lobwasser-Psalter: Cornelius Becker und Johannes Wüstholtz," in *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden*, ed. Eckhard Gruenwald, Henning Jürgens, and Jan Luth (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004), 291.

<sup>91</sup> Martin Opitz, *Die Psalmen Davids* (Danzig: 1637).



## IIa. Reymann

Matthaeus Reymann (c.1565 – after 1625) was a Polish-born lutenist active in Leipzig as University student. He held a number of minor law positions and was an experienced composer for the instrument.<sup>92</sup> His first print, *Noctes Musicae*, (1598) appeared in Heidelberg from Voegelin's press and is notable for the only appearance in the lute repertoire of chorale-based fantasies.<sup>93</sup> This work was intended to be a companion volume to Johan Rude's *Flores Musicae* (1600), also by Voegelin.<sup>94</sup> Reymann's *Noctes Musicae* featured instrumental genres (fantasies, dances, dance suites and preludes) while Rude's *Flores Musicae* was comprised of secular vocal arrangements.

Reymann's *Cythara Sacra* is a large volume (310 pages) that contains two intabulations of each psalm; a literal four-voice intabulation (ostensibly a series of simple chord patterns) followed by a variation.<sup>95</sup> The vocal models are taken mostly from

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<sup>92</sup> L. B. Lobaugh, Reymann, Matthais *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [December 1 2006]).

<sup>93</sup> For a facsimile edition, see Matthaeus Reymann, *Noctes Musicae*, facsimile ed. (Cologne: Voegeliniana, 1598; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff 1978). Note that these works predates the genre's cultivation by North German organists in the mid-seventeenth century. See Robert Marshall, Choral Settings. II: Organ Chorales *Grove Music Online* (Accessed [November 14 2006]).

<sup>94</sup> See L. B. Lobaugh, "Johan Rude's *Flores Musicae*," *Lute Society Journal* 14 (1972): 5-12.

<sup>95</sup> This print, along with other prints and manuscripts missing from the Preußischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin during WWII and thought lost, was located in the late 1980s at the Biblioteka Jagiellonska Krakow under the original Berlin call numbers. (Note that *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2000 and *Grove Music Online* do not reflect this recent information). For a catalog of lute manuscripts at this location, see Dieter and Meierott Kirsch, Lenz eds, *Berliner Lautentabulaturen in Krakau: Beschreibender Katalog der handschriftlichen Tabulaturen für Laute und verwandte Instrumente in der Biblioteka Jagiellonska Krakow aus dem Besitz der ehemaligen Preußischen Staatsbibliothek Berlin*. (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1992). To date, no catalog of lute prints found in Krakow has been published. However, Hans Jacob Wecker's *Tenor Lautenbuch* (Brown 1552<sub>10</sub>) has been found at this location. See Beckman, "The Lute Duets of Wolff Heckel: A Transcription and Study of the 1562 Reprint of his "Lautten Büch" Duets in Modern Notation, French Lute Tablature and Guitar Notation.", Dupraz, "Duos de luths en Allemagne dans la première partie du XVIe siècle: Hans Wecker (1552) et Wolf Heckel (1556/1562)", Dupraz, "Le duo de luths sur modèle vocal à la Renaissance: Vers une typologie du répertoire.."

Goudimel's *Les 150 pseumes de David nouvellement mis en musique* (1564).<sup>96</sup> Twenty-three settings, however, are attributed to "M.L.H."<sup>97</sup> The print includes intabulations of two other sacred works, *Decem praecepta* and *Canticum Simeonis*, in the same literal and embellished format. The six pages of prefatory material are in Latin and contain a dedication to brothers Antonio, Sebastian, Nicolao and Georgio Walwitz of Sueta and Dobritz in addition to five poems, praising both the author and the biblical songs.

Comparing Reymann's two prints, the intabulations in the *Cythara Sacra* are less embellished and are in lower physical positions on the instrument. This is an important distinction, as the *Noctes Musicae* is clearly not for an amateur lutenist given the frequent use of left hand positions above the fifth fret and 64<sup>th</sup> note cadential flourishes. The prints also differ in title incipits. *Noctes Musicae* provides more information about the intabulations, while *Cythara Sacra* introduces each setting in a simpler format: "Psalm" followed by the number.<sup>98</sup> Another distinction between Reymann's prints is that *Noctes Musicae* is intended for a 10-course lute, the *Cythara Sacra* for an 8-course instrument. Reymann's choice of an 8-course instrument is notable in that it represents a step backward in some respect. By this time, the instrument typically had 10 courses. Reymann may have thought that arranging the psalms for a such a cutting-edge instrument would either not be as popular or that he could capitalize on a market that already possessed 8-course instruments who would have seen the publication as both technically and instrumentally accessible.

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<sup>96</sup> Pierre Pidoux, *Claude Goudimel: Oeuvres Complètes*, ed. Pierre Pidoux et al, 14 vols. (Minden: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1967-83).

<sup>97</sup> These are psalm numbers 53, 62-64, 67-70, 71-72, 82, 90, 95, 98, 100, 108, 116, 127, 131, 139, 142 and 144.

<sup>98</sup> Typical incipits in the *Noctes Musicae*: "Passemeae. 10. Variatio 1 ad notem E la mi, melos durum tono ficto" and "Fantasia super 'Nun kom der heiden Heylandt'."

The *Cythara Sacra* is intended for a lutenist of lesser skill than the *Noctes Musicae*. Nowhere in the *Cythara Sacra* is the player expected to either negotiate extreme divisions of the beat in any of the four voices or negotiate additional bass courses on the instrument. Given the chordal style of Reymann's initial arrangement of each psalm, an amateur player with knowledge of simple chord patterns could manage every psalm in the collection.

### **IIb. Vallet**

*Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* (1615) was Nicolaes Vallet's (c.1583-1642) first attempt at publishing psalms. This engraved print is a part of the confusing history of Vallet's publications.<sup>99</sup> Conceived as the second part of a trilogy of prints between 1615-1620 in both Dutch and French, *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* contains 21 psalms for voice and lute with the vocal melodies and text from the completed 1562 Geneva Psalter.<sup>100</sup> This is unusual for intabulated sacred works (as noted in Chapter 1) since they were rarely - if ever - texted. Vallet's layout for the print followed French models - vocal music in mensural notation with underlayed text and lute accompaniment underneath. This arrangement would allow a lutenist to both sing and play from the same page.

Like Reymann, Vallet identified the intabulation only by psalm number. Though the vocal melodies come directly from the Geneva Psalter, Vallet's harmonies are free interpretations of Goudimel's settings, thus setting these arrangements apart from Reymann's effort. Vallet's lute writing has a palpable flow; he makes use of elements

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<sup>99</sup> See Nicolaes Vallet, *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids - 1615*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp, Facsimile ed., vol. 1, *The Complete Works of Nicolaes Vallet* (Utrecht: Dutch Lute Society, 1986-1992), Nicolaes Vallet, *Sectretum Musarum I*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp, Facsimile ed., vol. 3, *The Complete Works of Nicolaes Vallet* (Utrecht: Dutch Lute Society, 1986-1992).

<sup>100</sup> Grijp speculates that at least one part of the trilogy (*Regia Pietas*) was to be published in German. See Vallet, *Sectretum Musarum I*, xii. This will be discussed in context below.

from various lute traditions in his arrangements. For example, it is common for Vallet to begin with a three or four-part texture and drop to two voices for stepwise passages only to add the dropped voices near the end of a phrase. The tradition of dropping to two voices (alto and tenor typically) for virtuosic purposes (usually at cadences or notes longer than two beats in vocal models, for example) was well established in the previous century. Yet in these arrangements, Vallet's use of *style brisé* in two voices is unmistakable.<sup>101</sup> Vallet's employment of the technique is sparse but noticeable and foreshadows a common practice for lutenists just two decades later.

His use of dotted rhythms is noticeable and is a distinctive trait of the French lute repertoire in the early seventeenth century.<sup>102</sup> This stylistic feature is noticeably absent from German intabulations during this period. Though Vallet employs such rhythms sparingly in *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids*, a cursory examination of his 1616 print, *Secretum Musarum II* (a collection of dances, chanson intabulations, suites and arrangements for four lutes) demonstrates their popularity in a secular context.

Most of the intabulations in *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* are accompanied by newly composed instrumental introductions of 1-8 bars.<sup>103</sup> One might expect that Vallet composed these introductions simply to establish the key area. Indeed they serve that function, but many of these introductions are similar in construction to the arrangements

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<sup>101</sup> For an explanation of the term, see David Ledbetter, *Style brisé* *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 25 2006]).

<sup>102</sup> For solo lute prints exemplary of this trait, see Robert Ballard, *Diverses pïesces mises sur le luth, Deuxième livre* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1614), Robert Ballard, *Diverses pïesces mises sur le luth, Premier Livre* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1611). For air de cour prints, see the nine volume series Antoine Boësset, *Air de Cour mis en Tablature de Lvth par Anthoyne Boessët*, ed. Antoine Boësset, *Air de Cour mis en Tablature de Lvth par Anthoyne Boessët* (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1617-42).

<sup>103</sup> Vallet does not title these introductory measures. Though they operate in a way similar to preludes, many are too brief and lack sufficient melodic development to be properly thought of as preludes in a modern sense.

themselves, which is also reflective of secular lute practice.<sup>104</sup> This suggests that Vallet was more concerned with the musical (and perhaps instrumental) aspects of the arrangements and intent on placing them within a contemporary/progressive tradition of lute composition, rather than simply composing a harmonic foundation for voice.

### **IIc. Laelius**

Daniel Laelius (Daniel Lelij), a doctor of law living in Neumarkt, finished his only publication, *Testudo Spiritualis* in 1616; it was printed the following year in the city of Arnhem, 60 miles west of Utrecht.<sup>105</sup> This print, like Reymann's, is a complete setting of the psalter; yet there are some significant distinctions between the two.

The most obvious difference between *Testudo Spiritualis* and *Cythara Sacra* is the print itself. Printed in block type, this work is similar to English lute prints from the same period – collections by Dowland, Campion and Batchelor, for example. *Testudo Spiritualis*, however, was printed in quarto format, similar to the Attaignant, Gerle and Neusidler lute prints the century before. On the frontispiece appears an engraving of King David playing a harp; the King has his mouth open and appears to be singing the from the music book on his right. The two-page preface is in Latin dated November 1616, signifying a delay between when the preface was written and the publication's appearance; one brief Latin praise poem appears before the intabulations.

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<sup>104</sup> Composing instrumental preludes to vocal works occurred in Italian lute arrangements of frottola roughly a century before. See Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e so nar collauto Libro primo* (Venice: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1509); Franciscus Bossinensis, *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati col sopran in canto figurato per cantar e sonar col lauto Libro primo* (Fossombrone: Ottaviano Petrucci, 1511). Note that Bossinensis titles these instrumental introductions "ricercare," not "prelude."

<sup>105</sup> Nicolaes Vallet, *Regia Pietas - 1620*, ed. Louis Peter Grijp, Facsimile ed., vol. 2, *The Complete Works of Nicolaes Vallet* (Utrecht: Dutch Lute Society, 1986-1992), xix.

Vallet's use of text incipits is unique. Each intabulation is identified with five labels, arranged from top to bottom: The psalm number, followed by a text incipit in Latin, French, German and Dutch. This might suggest that Laelius intended the print for a wider market than did Reymann or Vallet. However, the print's index provides a clue as to the intended audience. While it is organized in separate sections for German, French and Dutch audiences, only the German index is complete: the French index only includes psalms with French titles beginning with letters A-D. The Dutch titles stop at the letter A. Also of note are Vallet's use of equivalent intabulations for different psalm titles and the addition of two chorales at the end of the print, *Erheb dein Hertz* and *Lasz deinen knecht*.<sup>106</sup> The 26 equivalencies decrease the total unique psalm arrangements to 124. See Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 Unique psalm arrangements versus equivalent psalm arrangements

Psalm #	Equivalent	Psalm #	Equivalent	Psalm #	Equivalent	Psalm #	Equivalent
53	14	68	36	82	46	140	<i>Erheb dem hertz*</i>
62	24	69	51	100, 142	131	144	18
63, 70	17	71	31	103	60		
64	5	76, 139	30	109	28		
66, 98	118	77	86	111	24		
67	33	78	90	117	127		

\* This work appears at the end of the collection

<sup>106</sup> Printed editions of the Lobwasser Psalter frequently included chorales, catechisms and sermons added to the end of the volume. See, for example, Ambrosius Lobwasser, *Das Dusseldorfer Gesangbuch von 1612: Faksimile-Nachdruck*, vol. 72, *Schriftenreihe des Vereins für Rheinische Kirchengeschichte* (Cologne: Evangelische Kirchengemeinden Dusseldorf, 1983).

The intabulations are for a 9-course lute and intended for a player of intermediate skill. Laelius's use of higher positions in the intabulations is unusual in the repertoire, perhaps demonstrating his favorite left-hand positions on the instrument. Cadential flourishes are kept to a minimum, seldom exceeding four divisions to the beat. Unlike the Vallet print, dotted rhythms are an extreme rarity, analogous to Reymann's arrangements. What truly sets this print apart, however, is indicated on the title page – these are arrangements of the Lobwasser Psalter.

Laelius' prominent mention of Lobwasser's name on the title page and the brief mention of Luther in the introduction (and the complete absence of Calvin's) have certain implications. Since Laelius' lute print is untexted, there appear to be only two reasons for Laelius' mention of the vocal model: Either Laelius wanted to publicly identify his (and the print's) Lutheran orientation or he was identifying which language the text was to be sung to the arrangement – presumably German. In either case, Laelius was identifying the market for the print, since the melodic models for his arrangements were the same; whether originating from the Geneva Psalter or Lobwasser's metrical German translation, the common denominator are the monophonic melodies.

## **IId. Vallet's Second Psalm Print**

Unlike the *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids*, Vallet's second psalm print, his 1620 *Regia Pietas*, published in Amsterdam, is a setting of the entire psalter. Conceived for a lute with ten courses, the *Regia Pietas* is the only psalm collection with indications (or markings) for ornaments. This uniqueness is, in fact, only the beginning of a series of interesting innovations contained in the print.

Perhaps the most obvious aspect of the print is that it conflates two previous layouts. Like Laelius' efforts, each psalm is identified in five ways: By psalm number and the incipit in Latin, French, German and Dutch. Additionally, like Reymann, Vallet provides a literal four-voice intabulation followed by an embellished version. These variations demand the same level of agility on the instrument as *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* and are replete with the same dotted rhythms and intermittent *style brisé* passages. Similarly, canticles appear after the last psalm; *Les dix Commandmens*, *Canticque de Simeon*, *Nostre Pere*, *Canticque de la Vierge* and *Canticque de Zacharie*. Yet unlike his 1615 print, Vallet's later collection is untexted and contains two variation settings of psalm 135.

There are two unique aspects of *Regia Pietas*. First, the psalms are organized according to key (c, g, F, d, Bb, G, a, Eb, f, C). These key sections are preceded by at least one instrumental introduction in a key area matching the intabulations in that section. Thus, in performance, the lutenist has the option of playing an instrumental prelude before the primary work to establish the key area. This scheme is similar to the Bossinensis/Petrucchi frottola intabulations a century before.<sup>107</sup> Second, the print is divided into six sections, each delineated by a full-page plate of Vallet's financier's coats of arms. This sectionalization serves to group the intabulations by the ten key areas.

## **IIe. Analysis: Reymann, Vallet, Laelius**

Outlining the commonalities between these prints, we can come to some conclusions about their purpose beyond their settings of the psalter. First and foremost,

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<sup>107</sup> See footnote 18 for a list of these prints.



they could serve as an accompaniment to psalm singing.<sup>108</sup> The overall level of skill on the lute required to perform these arrangements ranges from the amateur to the intermediate player. Additionally, there seems to be a concern about the intended market (and perhaps confessional flexibility) as witnessed by Laelius and Vallet's *Regia pietas*' use of four linguistic indicators to identify each arrangement in addition to the psalm number. The secular musical traditions of each intabulator are infused into these intabulations; dotted rhythms (a distinctive French secular style used by Vallet) versus a German tradition (Reymann and Laelius) that was somewhat judicious in the use of this rhythmic motif - even in dance intabulations. Additionally, *style brisé* appears in the Vallet prints while Reymann and Laelius preferred an older German style of divisions seen in the prints of Gerle and Neusidler almost a century before.

Noticeably, these prints lack the extreme divisions and variations common to the lute repertoire appearing in the previous century. The lack of this stylistic feature leaves the majority of chorale and psalm intabulations suitable for amateur players. Certainly, some ornamentation (seldom going beyond 16<sup>th</sup> notes) and cadential flourishes are present, though much of it comes from stock idiomatic patterns developed in the sixteenth century. This results in musically pedantic repertory. The challenge of creating an arrangement with some interest was solved by Vallet. By introducing the emerging *style brisé*, he departed from his colleagues' even division of the beat at the expense of a literal interpretation of the original melody.

When considering these works in the context of the lute repertoire examined in this study (to 1678), an overarching distinction emerges - a move to assemble the entirety

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<sup>108</sup> It is also possible that embellished versions of this repertoire may have been a musical reflection or meditation upon the psalm text. However, without accounts from the intabulators themselves, this possibility remains speculative.

of a single genre. This is an unusual occurrence in the lute repertoire, in which the majority of sixteenth-century print and manuscript sources are anthologies of diverse musical genres; intabulations of chanson, lied, Masses, motets and madrigals.<sup>109</sup> In the repertoire, however, there is a precedent for assembling a collection of psalm arrangements in one publication.

### III. The Calvinist Psalm Tradition for Lute in Print

Given the amount of scholarship concerning Marot and Beze's development of the Geneva Psalter appearing elsewhere, this study will not summarize the narrative.<sup>110</sup> Table 2.2 (at the end of this chapter), however, outlines the major points in the Psalter's publication history and the printed arrangements for lute.<sup>111</sup> Both noticeable and seldom discussed is that the four prints by Vallet, Reymann and Laelius are a part of the early instrumental transmission of the Calvinist psalms. In fact, with the lack of extant keyboard arrangements for Geneva Psalter, these publications represent a unique line of instrumental transmission.<sup>112</sup>

The first psalm publication for lute, Adrian LeRoy's *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth* (1552), arranged 21 psalms by poet Clement Marot (c.1496-1544) for voice and

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<sup>109</sup> For a discussion of the anthology tradition of prints, see Lewis, "Collecting Italia Abroad".

<sup>110</sup> For a selected list of scholarship concerning the Geneva Psalter's musical development and history in the context of its German reception, see Walter Blankenburg, "Church Music in Reformed Europe," in *Protestant Church Music: A History*, ed. Friedrich Blume (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 507-90; Markus Jenny, "Das Psalm Lied: Eine Erfindung Martin Luther," *Internationale Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Hymnologie Bulletin* 5 (1977); Waldo Pratt, *Music of the French Psalter of 1562: A Historical Survey* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939; reprint, 1966). For more recent literature, see Peter Bernoulli and Frieder Furler, *Der Genfer Psalter: Eine Entdeckungsreise* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2001); Eckhard Gruenwald, Henning Jürgens, and Jan Luth, *Der Genfer Psalter und seine Rezeption in Deutschland, der Schweiz und den Niederlanden* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004).

<sup>111</sup> Table 2.2 appears at the end of this Chapter.

<sup>112</sup> Calvin's prohibition of instrumental and polyphonic music during the service is well known – as is his acceptance of polyphonic singing in the household. Thus, it comes as no surprise that keyboard arrangements of the Geneva psalter are lacking until the seventeenth century.

lute.<sup>113</sup> LeRoy (c.1520-1598) used melodies from the *Psealmes cinquante de David*, a 1549 print by the French printing firm, Beringen.<sup>114</sup> Owned and operated by two brothers, Godefroy and Marcellin, the firm attempted (and failed) to “challenge” Moderne’s hold on the printing trade in Lyon.<sup>115</sup> Notable in this context are the types of musical prints the Beringen firm produced – publications dedicated to a single composer and genre.<sup>116</sup>

Guillaume Morlaye (Paris, ?1510 -? ) arranged and published a collection of 13 psalms for voice and lute in 1554.<sup>117</sup> His *Premier livre de psalmes mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon* appears in French tablature with mensural notation for voice.<sup>118</sup> Like the LeRoy print, it is exclusively dedicated to the genre. Morlaye choose his vocal models from Attaignant’s 1546 *Livre premier contenant xxxi pseaulmes*, the first extant polyphonic setting of the Geneva Psalter.<sup>119</sup>

In addition to these prints having mensural notation for voice, appearing within ten years of the vocal model’s original publication and being notated in French tablature, they identify the intabulations by psalm number and Latin text incipit.<sup>120</sup> However, the popularity of psalms arranged for lute remains unknown. Since there are no reprints

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<sup>113</sup> Note that this print was not a source for Vallet’s *Een en twintich Psalmen Davids* (1615). In fact, only five psalms are shared between both prints: 24, 33, 91, 137 and 138. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 135-36.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid., 135. Note that LeRoy’s lute publication appeared only a year after the Beringen firm printed their first vocal work, *Premier livre des chansons spirituelles* (1548).

<sup>115</sup> Samuel Pogue, Laurent Guillo, and Frank Dobbins, Beringen *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 17 2006]).

<sup>116</sup> In this case, the chansons and psalm settings of Loys Bourgeois (one of the first composers to produced polyphonic arrangements of the Geneva Psalter), Dominique Phinot and Didier Lupi Second). Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Frank Dobbins, Morlaye, Guillaume *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 17 2006]).

<sup>118</sup> Guillaume Morlaye, *Premier livre de psalmes mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon* (Paris: Fezandat, 1554).

<sup>119</sup> This Attaignant print survives incomplete – only a defective superius partbook exists. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 160. Brown also mentions that LeRoy and Ballard’s 1555 *Cinquante Pseaulmes par M. Pierre Certon* (also incomplete) contains a suitable tenor part for Morlaye’s arrangement.

<sup>120</sup> Morlaye’s work also provides both a French and Latin text incipit in addition to the psalm number.

extant, it may well be that these efforts were either not well received, not profitable, or perhaps were subject to criticism based on religious grounds.<sup>121</sup>

Discussed in the literature, however, is Adrian LeRoy's lost 1562 print, *Livre de Tablature sur le lute par Adrian LeRoy D'Octante Trois pseumes de David...composés à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel mis en rime francoise par Cl. Marot et Th. Besze* printed by LeRoy & Ballard.<sup>122</sup> This appears to be the only lute print dedicated to arranging Goudimel's 1562 *Psaumes ... 'dont le subject se peu chanter en taille ou en dessus*.<sup>123</sup> If this is true, the implications are significant and would be the first example of a lute arrangement and its corresponding vocal model appearing simultaneously. Given the close association between LeRoy's printing firm and Goudimel, this appears a tempting possibility.<sup>124</sup>

Further adding to the suggestion of a close relationship between LeRoy's lute intabulations and Goudimel's polyphonic settings of the Geneva Psalter is LeRoy's 1567 *Pseumes de David composez en musique à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel, nouvellement mis en tablature sure le leut par Adrian Le Roy*.<sup>125</sup> The suggestion of Goudimel's 1564 *Les 150 pseumes de David* (the first complete polyphonic setting of the Geneva Psalter) as a model for LeRoy's 1567 publication is again appealing.

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<sup>121</sup> This topic will be addressed in Chapter 3.

<sup>122</sup> Jean-Michel Noailly, "Claude Goudimel, Adrian Le Roy et le C. L. Pseumes, 1562-1567" (Dissertation, University of St. Étienne, 1988). See Brown 1562(5) page 201. This 1567 print was in **PL:S**. Note that variation in intabulations (when compared to the vocal model) should not be a singular argument to establish (or not) a basis for modeling. See Göllner, "On the process of Lute Intabulation in the Sixteenth Century." In this instance, however, Noailly's evidence concerning the position of the melody is convincing.

<sup>123</sup> Only the bassus part book survives. Paul-André Gaillard and Richard Freedman, Goudimel, Claude *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 1 2006]).

<sup>124</sup> Note that Goudimel's printer was LeRoy & Ballard. Samuel Pogue, Le Roy, Adrian *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 24 2006]); Samuel Pogue, Robert Ballard *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [October 28 2006]).

<sup>125</sup> This print does not appear in Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*.

However, Jean-Michel Noailly dismisses both of these possibilities due to LeRoy's freeness with Goudimel's settings.<sup>126</sup> Another concern for Noailly lies in the position of the melody. In LeRoy's 1567 lute arrangements, some melodies reside in the soprano while Goudimel's *Les 150 pseumes de David* settings keep the Geneva Psalter's melodies in the tenor.<sup>127</sup>

### **IIIa. The Calvinist Psalm Tradition for Lute in Manuscript**

The manuscript repertoire for the psalms originating in French-speaking areas presents a contrasting picture. Generally speaking, French lute manuscripts contain dances, suites and chanson intabulations rather than sacred repertoire. Arrangements of Masses and motets are rare and, when they occur, they are in anthologized prints.<sup>128</sup> However, there are a few instances of psalm intabulations. Some examples include: Bibliothèque municipale, Valenciennes Ms. 429 (F-VAL 429), known as the "de Croy" (copied in 1601) contains 11 Latin texted psalms for seven-course lute in addition to some chanson arrangements, but these are not intabulations of Goudimel's polyphonic settings. Another source, the 1591 Wurtsen manuscript held in the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, Basel (CH-Bu F.IX.70) provides another interesting example. This massive manuscript of exactly 500 intabulations contains two Goudimel settings, *Mon Dieu me paist* (psalm 23) and *O nostre Dieu* (psalm 8). Given the Swiss provenance of the manuscript, it is not surprising to see the use of German tablature

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<sup>126</sup> Jeanice Brooks, "Adrian Le Roy. Psalms (1567). Edition et transcription par Jean-Michel Noailly," *Notes* 54, no. 4 (1998).

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 968. Note that in Goudimel's *Les 150 pseumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique* (1580) melodies are in the soprano and in contrast to LeRoy's 1567 print.

<sup>128</sup> Bibliothèque municipale, Vesoul Mss 711 (F VE 711) is a typical example. It contains alternating groups of dances and sacred works (mostly motets by Lasso).

throughout.<sup>129</sup> What is unusual in this instance is that these two psalms (with their French incipits) appear in the same grouping as 14 other German chorales. At first glance this may seem unusual. However, this source is arranged (with some exceptions) according to musical genre, suggesting that chorales and psalms may have been considered similar in function by the compiler of the manuscript.

A precedent exists, then, for the publication of the complete psalter for lute in the second decade of the seventeenth century. This is in addition to using psalm number and title concurrently as seen in prints some sixty years earlier. Similarly, this sixteenth-century French output occurs (in the context of the printed repertoire) uniquely and is also short-lived - 15 years. Though a small number of psalm intabulations appeared in various prints before and after this period, the dedicated use of a print to a singular Protestant genre emerges and ends abruptly in French repertoire.

### **IIIb. Performance Context of Intabulated Psalms**

The context within which these psalm settings may have been performed has not been addressed in scholarly literature. Certainly, the popularity of Goudimel's settings in Protestant lands is unquestionable. Nor is it disputed that these settings helped to "fuse" Calvinist and Lutheran musical traditions after Lobwasser published his translations of the Geneva psalter.<sup>130</sup> It seems axiomatic, given the popularity of the psalter (in both Protestant traditions) and the Calvinist tradition of polyphonic psalm singing in the home,

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<sup>129</sup> Lute prints from Switzerland are rare, but typically printed in German tablature. As an example, see Hans Wecker, *Tenor Lautenbuch vonn mancherly schönen und lieblich stucken mit zwywn lauten zusammen zu schlagen* (Basel: Ludwig Lück, 1552).

<sup>130</sup> Gaillard and Freedman, Goudimel, Claude.

that the creation of lute arrangements would only be a matter of time after the vocal prints appeared; this was the case with chanson and madrigal intabulations.

### **IIIc. Personal Accounts of Psalm Use**

One would expect a plethora of references and personal accounts in diaries describing the use of Goudimel's settings given the popularity of the work. Extant sources, however, paint a different picture. There are only a few concrete descriptions concerning the use of the lute as accompaniment in psalm singing in French sources. One occurs in Beze's *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées*.<sup>131</sup> It concerns Calvinist Anne de Bourg, nephew of the chancellor Antoine du Bourg held as a prisoner in the Bastille in 1560. Beze states "confined in a cage where he suffered all the discomforts imaginable, [de Bourg] rejoiced always and glorified God, now taking up his lute to sing him psalms, now praising him with his voice."<sup>132</sup> Another reference (written in 1559 to Catherine de' Medici from Villemadon, a courtier to Marguerite of Navarre) notes that the then dauphin, Henri III was singing psalms "...accompanied by lutes, guitars, viols, spinets, flutes and the voices of his singers."<sup>133</sup> Though Henri was part of a Catholic court, this anecdote demonstrates that instruments accompanied sung psalms.

### **IIId. The English Psalm Tradition for Lute**

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<sup>131</sup> Theodore Beze, *Histoire ecclésiastique des églises reformees au royaume de France, publiee d'apres l'edition de 1580, avec des notes et des éclaircissements par P. Vesson*. (Toulouse: Societe des livres religieux, 1882).

<sup>132</sup> Howard Slenk and Jan Luth, Psalms, metrical; The European continent 2. France and Switzerland (ii) polyphonic settings. *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [November 1 2006]).

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

Though French sources describing lute accompaniment with psalm singing are scarce, England provides a contrasting paradigm in which, in the print itself, the instrument is an explicit part of the setting. In fact, two prints that feature psalm settings with lute include: Richard Allison's 1599 *The Psalmes of David*,<sup>134</sup> which contains 50 psalm settings (in addition to anthems), and Thomas Campion's *Two Books of Ayers –Book 1* (1613), which contains 16 psalm settings in addition to other secular songs in tablature and mensural notation.<sup>135</sup>

Psalm singing and instrumental accompaniment appear more prevalent in English sources and more prominently linked with the consort tradition as Allison's print states:

*THE PSALMES OF David in Meter, The plaine Song beeing the common tunne to be sung and plaide upon the Lute, Orpharyon, Citterne or Base Violl, seveyally or altogether...*

A short list of prints that specifically indicate that psalms could be performed in consort with instruments and voices include: Sterhold & Hopkins *The Whole Psalms in Foure Parties* (1563); W. Damon, *Psalms of David* (1579); W. Hunnis *Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne* (1583); J. Coysn, *Musike of Six, and Five Parties* (1585); W. Damon, *The Former Booke of the Musicke* (1591), *The Second Booke of the Musicke* (1591); Richard Allison, *The Psalmes of David* [Lute] (1591); Thomas Campion, *Two Books of Ayers Book 1*<sup>136</sup> [Lute] (1613); W. Leighton, *The Tears or Lamentations* (1614),

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<sup>134</sup> This book came to North America on the Mayflower. Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600*, 429.

<sup>135</sup> Also note another cittern setting by Thomas Robinson, *New Chitharen Lessons* (1609).

<sup>136</sup> Thomas Campion, *Two Books of Ayres*, ed. David Greer, vol. 2, *English Lute Songs 1597-1632* (Menston, England: The Scholar Press Limited, 1967). There are 16 psalms



and R. Tailour, *Sacred Hymns* (1615).<sup>137</sup> Another biblical text set to music mentions lute accompaniment prominently on the frontispiece: Christopher Tye's *The Acts of the Apostles* (1553), though it appears without tablature<sup>138</sup>

### **IIIId. Musical Analysis: Psalm 137 –Reymann and Laelius**

Example 2.1 is an excerpt of psalm 137, *Da wir zu Babylon*, showing the original Geneva psalm melody, Goudimel's 1560 polyphonic setting, Reymann's 1613 literal and varied intabulations and Laelius' 1617 setting. Goudimel's treatment of the Geneva melody is not exact and for much of this example, the soprano lies a third below the original psalm tune. However, Goudimel retains the contour of the melody for much of the excerpt.

Reymann's literal intabulation of the psalm is closely related to the Goudimel setting, which suggests that Reymann used this polyphonic model. There some differences worth nothing concerning Reymann's use of ficta. In measure three, Reymann omits Goudimel's f# and instead indicates f natural resulting in a i-i-i-V progression rather than a i-i-I-V progression. In measure four, he retains Goudimel's D major chord, though in measure eight he changes Goudimel's two chords (a-d) from minor to major. These slight changes appear purposeful on Reymann's part as Goudimel's original arrangement would pose no problem for an amateur lutenist after intabulation; they might also indicate variants in German transmission of the Goudimel polyphonic settings.

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<sup>137</sup> Nicholas Temperly, *The Hymn Tune Index*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

<sup>138</sup> Ibid. For a modern edition, see Christopher Tye, *The Actes of the Apostles: 14 short anthems - 1553*, ed. Robert W. Weidner, *Kalmus Vocal Scores. 6804* (New York: E. F. Kalmus, 1975).

In contrast to Reymann's literal intabulation, the variation setting of the psalm has a number of distinct features. Perhaps the most obvious is Reymann's use of sixteenth-note running passages. This is a typical mid sixteenth-century practice and is somewhat demanding for an amateur lutenist, though not outside the capability for one of intermediate skill. In terms of rhythm, these variations are in a German style (i.e.: rhythms are grouped within strong beat units). Reymann does not employ a French rhythmic style (dotted rhythms specifically) that was well established by the last quarter of the previous century.<sup>139</sup> Reymann's concern with his literal intabulation as a model for the variations is evident as he starts each division of the beat on the same soprano note as the literal intabulation with some small exceptions.<sup>140</sup> He arranges the bass voice in the variation almost exactly as in his literal intabulation, though he modifies the tenor (and occasionally, the alto) for idiomatic purposes. Returning to the *ficta* discussion mentioned above, Reymann's choice of a *i-i-i-V* progression in measure three is explained in the variation. In this case, Reymann clearly sees the phrase ending in measure four – as does Goudimel. However, Goudimel's brief tonicization of G major in measure three de-emphasizes the d minor tonality of the melody in anticipation of the D major chord to end the phrase. Contrastingly, Reymann retains the d minor tonality of the melody by his choice of chord progression in measure three until the end of the phrase in measure four.

Laelius' treatment of the psalm is more lyrical than Reymann's interpretation. Instead of a homophonic realization with embellishments occurring almost strictly in the soprano voice, Laelius uses the inner voices actively in this mostly three-part

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<sup>139</sup> Note, however that the G major chord occurring in last beat of measure three is a "broken chord." This demonstrates that despite Reymann's overt use of a typically German variation style, he appears aware of this French trend.

<sup>140</sup> See measures one, beat four and measure two.

arrangement. Of note is his alternation of embellishment in the tenor and alto ranges. The rhythmic values for this intabulation are doubled, which allows for this lyrical intabulation style and is typical of lute intabulations from vocal models throughout the repertoire's history. As we saw with Reymann, it appears that Goudimel's polyphonic setting was the source for this arrangement and though Laelius is more free with this interpretation, he retains the Geneva melody and Goudimel's original *ficta* – measure six in Laelius' intabulation compares with measure three in Goudimel's setting.

In comparing these arrangements, it is clear that when interpreting a psalm melody, lutenists could approach the task in a number of different ways to accomplish contrasting effects. Reymann's literal intabulations suit the amateur lutenist and give the impression of being a functional accompaniment to singing without any embellishments that may be considered lascivious. His variations, though still steeped in the variation practices of an earlier century, are for the intermediate player and lie closer to a virtuoso arrangement of Goudimel's setting. Laelius, however, takes a lyrical approach to intabulating the psalm. His deft use of alternating voices for embellishments is again suited to the intermediate player, though with the doubling of rhythmic values. An amateur could play the work with little effort, as alternation of voices for embellishments was popular 75 years earlier when voice imitation was more common.<sup>141</sup> This brief comparison demonstrates that despite the Genevan melodies' origins or intended use, lutenists took a freer view of the melodies, perhaps approaching them as both functional in a religious sense and as a compositional platform – similar to any secular vocal work. What is unusual, however, is that these intabulations are restrained: they do not approach

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<sup>141</sup> The lute works of Francesco da Milano (1487? – 1543) are prime examples of imitation practice in the lute repertoire.

the level of difficulty that characterizes arrangements of five- and six-voice madrigals or abstract lute pieces in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. There appears to be an explicit concern on the part of Reymann and Laelius that their interpretations of psalm 137 be functional not only in a performance sense, but in a religious sense as well. Both lutenists could have obfuscated the Genevan melody by various means, but chose instead to leave the melody mostly intact - possibly to allow a poor singer to easily remember the melody and stay in tune while singing, or perhaps (if the original melodies were not sung, which seems especially possible in the Laelius, which would have required very slow singing given the doubling of the note values of the original) to identify the melodic essence of the spiritual song.<sup>142</sup> Though Reymann's variations obscure the melody on paper, lutenists learn to emphasize certain notes to bring out a melody and thus could easily make the primary melody notes more noticeable in the divisions during performance.

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<sup>142</sup> Note that due to Laelius doubling the rhythmic values of the original melody and his embellishments in the soprano voice (causing the original melody to become obscured,) one could make the case that he is creating a "musical meditation" on the melody.

Psalm 137  
Da wir zu Babylon

The image displays a musical score for Psalm 137, titled "Da wir zu Babylon". It consists of five systems of staves, each representing a different musical setting. The first system, "Geneva Melody", shows a single melodic line in treble clef. The second system, "Goudimel 1560", features a two-part setting with treble and bass staves. The third system, "Reymann (Literal)", also shows a two-part setting. The fourth system, "Reymann (Variation)", features a more complex two-part setting with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the treble. The fifth system, "Laelius", shows a two-part setting with a more active bass line. All staves are in common time (C) and the key signature has one flat (B-flat).

Geneva Melody

Goudimel  
1560

Reymann  
(Literal)

Reymann  
(Variation)

Laelius

Example 2.1

Geneva

Joudimel

Reymann (Litteral)

Reymann Variation)

Laelius

The image displays five musical staves, each representing a different piece. Each staff consists of a treble clef and a bass clef. The pieces are: Geneva, Joudimel, Reymann (Litteral), Reymann Variation), and Laelius. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

The image displays five staves of musical notation, each representing a different source or version of a psalm print. The staves are labeled on the left: Geneva, Goudimel, Reymann (Literal), Reymann (Variation), and Laelius. Each staff consists of a treble and a bass clef. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The Geneva staff shows a simple melody. The Goudimel staff features a more complex, multi-measure rest in the bass. The Reymann (Literal) staff shows a simple melody with a multi-measure rest in the bass. The Reymann (Variation) staff shows a more complex melody with a multi-measure rest in the bass. The Laelius staff shows a simple melody with a multi-measure rest in the bass.

#### IV. Chapter Conclusion

Attempting to reconcile the performance context of psalm prints originating from English, French, Netherlandish and German sources seems difficult at the outset. Why do English prints explicitly state instrumental accompaniment when the psalm prints by Reymann and Laelius omit such instruction? In an effort to answer that question, we can construct a continuum within which English prints explicitly state lute accompaniment by including tablature, mensural notation and instructions; French prints include tablature and mensural notation; prints from the low countries use either tablature and mensural

notion or tablature alone; and German sources are without mensural notation or performance instructions. When we think of performance practice as a spectrum of this sort, a partial answer to the question of performance context (and practice) can be thought of in terms of tradition – more precisely, a localized lute print tradition.

While the tradition of psalm intabulations forms a mostly localized case study with fascinating cross-confessional implications, the repertory of chorale intabulations is more vast and complex, and it is to the broader repertory and its function within changing devotional practices in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestantism that we turn in the next Chapter.

Table 2.2 Selected Print History of the Geneva Psalter

Date	Author	Title	Notes
1537	Clement Marot		Metrical translations 1-15, assorted
1539	Jean Calvin's	<i>Aulcuns pseaulmes et cantiques mys en chant - Strasbourg</i>	Monophonic: 13 Marot psalm texts, 6 by Calvin, 1 canticle.   setting uses a pre-existing melody
1540	Abel (Lyon: Moderne)	<i>Le parangon des chansons</i>	Polyphonic: The 1 <sup>st</sup> setting of a Marot psalm – 137.
1542	Calvin's 2nd psalter	<i>La forme des prières et chantz ecclésiastiques</i>	Monophonic: Uses Marot's "Trente pseaulmes," two canticles   5 psalms by Calvin each with their own melody
1543	Clement Marot	<i>Cinquante pseumes en francois par Clem. Marot</i>	This is the result of 1542 – no melodies, poetry only
1543	Jean Calvin	Cinquante pseumes	Monophonic: Based on Marot's 1543, "Cinquante pseumes en francois par Clem. Marot"
1544	Gentain (Lyon: Moderne)	Le difficile des chansons	Polyphonic: 2 <sup>nd</sup> setting of a Marot psalm - 130
1546	Pierre Certon (Paris: Attaignant)	Livre premier contenant xxxi pseaulmes	Polyphonic: 1 <sup>st</sup> dedicated print of psalm settings. 31 settings of Marot's 1543 "Cinquante pseumes en francois par Clem. Marot"
1547	Loys Bourgeois (Lyon: Beringer)	Pseaulmes de David	Polyphonic: 2 <sup>nd</sup> dedicated print of psalm settings. 50 settings of Marot's 1543 "Cinquante pseumes en francois par Clem. Marot"
1547	Loys Bourgeois (Lyon: Beringer)	Le premier livre des pseaulmes	Polyphonic: 3 <sup>rd</sup> dedicated print of psalm settings. 24 psalms total. 15 settings of Marot's 1543 "Cinquante



			pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot”
1549	Clement Janequin (Paris:	Premier livre contenant xxviii pseaumes de David	Polyphonic: 28 settings of Marot’s 1543 “Cinquante pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot”
1550	Pierre Colin	Les 50 pseaumes de David traduitz par Clement Marot	Polyphonic: 50 settings of Marot’s 1543 “Cinquante pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot.” Does <u>not</u> use the Geneva melodies
1551	Claude Goudimel (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard)	Premier livre, contenant 8 pseaumes de David traduitz par Clément Marot	Polyphonic: 8 settings of Marot’s 1543 “Cinquante pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot.” Does <u>not</u> use the Geneva melodies
1551-1554	Theodore Beze (takes over after Marot dies) & Loys Bourgeois (Geneva:	<i>Pseaumes octantetrois de David, mis en rime Francoise, a savoir, quaranteneuf par Clement Marot ... et trentequatre par Theodore de Besze, de Vezelay en Bourgogne</i>	Monophonic: A new print run for each year listed
1552	Adrian LeRoy (Paris: Leroy& Ballard)	<i>Tiers livre de tabulature de luth</i>	LUTE: Arranges 21 psalms by Marot – melodies based on Bourgeois’ 1549 “ <i>Psealmes cinquante de David</i> ”
1554	Loys Bourgeois (Lyon: Beringen)	<i>Pseaulmes LXXXIII de David</i>	Polyphonic: 83 settings based on Beze & Bourgeois 1551. “ <i>Pseaumes octantetrois de David</i> ”
1554	Guillaume Morlaye (Paris: Fezandat)	<i>Premier livre de psalmes mis en musique par maistre Pierre Certon</i>	LUTE: Arranges 13 psalms by Pierre Certon. Vocal models are from “Livre premier contenant xxxi pseaumes”(1546) & “Cinquante Pseaulmes...par M. Pierre Certon” (1555 Paris: LeRoy and Ballard)
1555	Theodore Beze & Loys Bourgeois (Geneva:	Pseaumes octante-neuf	Monophonic
1555	Pierre Certon (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard)	Cinquante pseaumes de David	Polyphonic: 50 settings of Marot’s 1543 “Cinquante pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot”
1559	Michel Ferrier	Quarante et neuf psalmes de David	Polyphonic: 49 settings of Marot’s 1543 “Cinquante pseaumes en françois par Clem. Marot”
1559	Clement Janequin (Paris:	Octante deux pseaumes de David	Polyphonic: 83 settings based on Beze & Bourgeois 1555, “Pseaumes octantetrois de David”
1561	Thomas Champion	Premier livre contenant 60 pseaumes de David	<i>Polyphonic: 60 settings based on Beze &amp; Bourgeois, 1555 “Pseaumes octantetrois de David</i>
1562	Theodore Beze & Loys Bourgeois	<i>Les pseaumes mis en rime françoise, par Clément Marot, &amp; Théodore de Bèze</i>	The complete monophonic psalter – over 10,000 copies printed
1562	Goudimel (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard)	<i>Psaumes ... ‘dont le subject se peu chanter en taille ou en dessus’</i>	Polyphonic. Sets 82 psalms based on Beze & Bourgeois 1562, “Les pseaumes mis en rime françoise, par Clément Marot, & Théodore de Bèze” [Incomplete – only bass part survives]

1562	Adrian LeRoy (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard)	<i>Livre de Tablature sur le luth...Octante Trois pseumes de David...composés à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel mis en rime françoise par Cl. Marot et Th. Besze</i> (LeRoy & Ballard – Paris) [LOST]	LUTE
1562	Jean Paul Paladin (Lyon: Gorlier)	<i>Ant. Franc. Paladin. Tablature de Luth, ou sont contenus plusieurs Psalmes &amp; Chansons spiritualis, a Lyon</i> [LOST]	LUTE
1564	Goudimel (Paris: LeRoy & Ballard))	<i>Les 150 pseumes de David</i>	The complete <u>polyphonic</u> setting of Marot & Beze’s monophonic psalter
1564	Adrian LeRoy	<i>Second Livre de Cistre, contennt Les Commandemens de Dieu: Six Pseumes de David...</i>	CITTERN: Psalm melodies based on Goudimel 1562, “Psaumes ... ‘dont le subject se peu chanter en taille ou en dessus’
1565	Jean Servin	<i>Les 150 pseumes de David, composés à 3 parties, dont l’une est le chant commun</i>	Polyphonic; Sets 150 psalms based on Beze & Bourgeois 1562, “Les pseumes mis en rime françoise, par Clément Marot, & Théodore de Bèze”
1567	Pierre Santerre	<i>Les CL psalmes de David</i> [LOST]	Polyphonic
1567	Adrian LeRoy	<i>Pseames de David composez en musique à quatre parties par Cl. Goudimel, nouvellement mis en tablature sure le leut par Adrian Le Roy</i>	LUTE: The vocal models are not directly from Goudimel 1562, “Les 150 pseumes de David”
1573	Lobwasser	<i>Der Psalter dess königlichen Propheten Davids, in deutsche reyme verstendiglich und deutlich gebracht</i> (Leipzig)	German translation of the monophonic Beze-Marot 1562. (Completed in 1565)
1574	Adrian LeRoy (London: Rowbothome)	<i>A brieve and plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of eight divers tunes in Tablature for the Lute</i>	LUTE: This is a London reprint of LeRoy’s 1567, “Pseames de David composez...”

### Chapter 3: Context and Function of Lute Chorales in Devotional Practice

#### I. Introduction

The scholarly study of lute music has primarily focused on court life, stylistic changes and source studies. Little is known about the instrument's function in sixteenth and seventeenth-century domestic life; frequently, the lute's role in this context is based on iconographic evidence alone.

This lack of attention to the potential "domestic" role of the lute is exacerbated by an absence of studies of the instrument's sacred repertoire. Given the numbers of Masses, motets, and chorales arranged for lute (especially in the sixteenth century), one would expect to find accounts of the use of these arrangements in either a public or private environment. This is rarely the case; surviving documents seldom mention the instrument or the repertoire performed in either confessional context. With the organ as the primary musical instrument for public worship and the lute's inherent lack of volume, it comes as no surprise that the lute was apparently little used in public venues.<sup>143</sup> Yet given the amount of sacred repertoire available for the instrument and its unsuitability as an instrument of public worship due to its lack of volume, it seems plausible that these arrangements were used in more intimate settings.

The presence of a chorale repertoire in arrangements for lute begs the question of their function in a sacred/domestic context. Given the instrument's popularity in the

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<sup>143</sup> A tantalizing anecdote concerning Luther's experience with the lute in church appears in Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music*, trans. Ralph Wood and Frida Best (Philadelphia: Muhlenburg Press, 1948), 98. While conducting a service at Erfurt, Luther witnessed (and sang) the Kyrie, Gloria and Pater Noster played on lute by the church sexton. Nettl suggests, "It is evident from this that it was customary to play all the parts of the Mass instrumentally." Unfortunately, Nettl does not provide a source for the anecdote nor other examples of the lute in a similar context.

sixteenth century, Luther's focus on the family's spiritual well being, his embracing of music for its spiritual power, and the popular belief that Luther himself was a lutenist, it would seem that playing chorales on the lute had the potential to hold a special place within the Lutheran household as an integral part of spiritual practice.<sup>144</sup> Evidence to support the claim using descriptions of domestic spiritual practice is lacking, however.

Despite this dearth of first-hand documentation, it is clear that Lutheran writers did not preclude the instrumental accompaniment of sacred works in the home.<sup>145</sup> This suggests that music was, at least for some families, a significant aspect of daily spiritual practice in addition to biblical readings and prayers. This spiritual ritualization of the home not only worked toward the religious edification and bonding of family members, it was a predictable, repetitive and daily occurrence. With many Lutheran writers and theologians embracing the use of musical instruments for devotional activities, the lute may have held a special place in the everyday operation of Lutheran households.<sup>146</sup>

Spiritual ritualization was spurred not only by a general adherence to Lutheran ideas of piety, but also by the phenomenon of *Andachtliteratur*, a crucial development in early seventeenth-century Lutheran devotional practice. The publications in this tradition instructed individuals and households in leading a pious life through meditative practice in secluded and private spaces. Though some authors of *Andachtliteratur* were prescriptive to the extreme, they frequently punctuated their daily meditations with the singing of psalms as both a part of worship and of edification.

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<sup>144</sup> Some examples of Luther portrayed as a lutenist in modern scholarship include: "He (Luther) is said to have had a fine, though soft, tenor voice, and was an accomplished performer on the flute and lute." "Luther berichtet, während einer Krankheit die Laute spielen und das Intavolieren gelernt zu haben." Joachim Stalmann, "Luther, Martin," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1998-2004), 638.

<sup>145</sup> An examination of this is discussed below.

<sup>146</sup> A discussion of Lutheran writers who advocated this stance appears below.

*Andachtliteratur*, however, did not originate in German-speaking areas, but was a product of English Puritanism. First appearing in 1628, German translations of English reformed devotional manuals became extraordinarily popular during the century and defined private and domestic devotion for Calvinists and Lutherans alike.<sup>147</sup> With over 1,000 extant reprints of this literature extending to the middle of the eighteenth century, the impact of Puritan devotional practices on German Protestants cannot be understated.<sup>148</sup> In the context of musical devotional practices, these prints focus on the psalm repertoire – a distinctively Calvinist tradition.

Contemporaneous with the German production of *Andachtliteratur* is the emergence of Pietism. As a reaction to Orthodox Lutheranism, Pietist theologians adopted an almost mystical relationship with God through the use of meditative practices promoted by English Puritan literature. *Andachtliteratur* stressed the use of psalms and some lutenists quickly met the demands of a pious public by producing complete Psalters for lute. Yet, as Pietism developed through the seventeenth century, a distinct musical tradition evolved as well. Instead of relying on psalms for musical worship, the chorales of Paul Gerhardt emerged as the primary musical expression of Pietist thought. Again, lutenists responded by creating two significant collections of chorales: One by Esaias

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<sup>147</sup> The first English publication to be translated was Lewis Bayly, *The Practise of Piety, Directing a Christian how to Walke That He Might Please God*, 3 ed. (London: 1613). The German translation appeared as Lewis Bayly, *Praxis Pietatis: Das ist, Übung der Gottseligkeit: Darinn begriffen, wie ein Christgläuber Mensch, in wahrer erkenntnuß Gottes, und seiner selbst, zunemman; sein Leben täglich in der forcht Gottes anstellen, mit ruhigem Gewissen yubringen, und nach vollendetem Lauff seliglich beschliessen kan: Sampt bezgefügtten schönen Geist- und Trostreichen Gebätten. Erstlich, in Englischer Spraach, uber die drezsig mal; hernacher Frantzösisch zu unterschiedenen malen außgangen: anjetzo aber, zu Trost und sonderbarem nutzen aller frommen Gottföchtigen Christen in deisen letsten betrübten Zeiten, auch in die Teutsche Spraach gebarcht.*, trans. Anon. (Basel: Ludwig König, 1628).

<sup>148</sup> Edgar C. McKenzie, *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in German Translation from the Reformation to 1750*, vol. 2, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997).

Reusner (Sr.) in 1645 (just three years before the Peace of Westphalia), the other by his son, Esaias Reusner (Jr.) in 1678.

This chapter will develop a broad contextual outline for the possible use and function of chorales and psalms arranged for lute in the German Protestant household during the seventeenth century. Through recent scholarship on private and domestic spiritual practice, I will suggest that chorales and psalms intabulated for lute may have functioned as a part of private and domestic devotional practices.

### **Ia. Historical Artifacts of Private Life, Piety and Secular Influence**

Given the existence of the chorale and psalm repertoire for lute and the creation of spaces for both private and domestic devotion in the Early Modern Era, it seems reasonable to suggest that the repertory was used in support of these devotions. However, if one seeks direct confirmation of this hypothesis in diaries or letters, such evidence is not readily available.<sup>149</sup> An examination of the purpose of household literature may begin to explain both the infrequency of entries on music in devotional practice in private records and provide a view on the function of sacred songs for lute, thereby contextualizing the possible circumstances for the repertoire's use.

Much of the evidence for our understanding of Early Modern private and domestic life comes from diaries and letters.<sup>150</sup> Handwritten diaries and journals can be a

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<sup>149</sup> There seems to be little doubt, however, that instrumental music was a part of private or domestic piety. Johann Standen, in his *HaußMusic Geistlicher Gesäng* (1634) states that musicians were cultivating this repertoire. "...unnd die darinn begriffene geistliche Gesäng und Gebett woll Instrumentaliter als Vocaliter offimals zu musiciren pflaget." Irmgard Scheitler, "Geistliches Lied und Persönliche Erbauung in 17 Jahrhundert," in *Frömmigkeit in der Frühen Neuzeit: Studien zur religiösen Literatur des 17 Jahrhundert*, ed. Deiter Breuer (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 1984), 131.

<sup>150</sup> As examples of modern scholars interpreting these historical documents, see Ursula Brosthaus, *Bürgerleben in 16. Jahrhundert: Die Autobiographie des Stralsunder Bürgermeister Bartholomäs Sastrow als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle* (Köln: Böhlau, 1972), Madeleine Foisil, "The Literature of Intimacy," in *A*

tremendous source of information, yet, as Madeleine Foisil suggests, they “...divide time and action into a series of moments whose extent never exceeds a single day.”<sup>151</sup> Diaries seldom reflect extended themes or recurring actions and tend to address the exceptional parts of the day. A diary, then records the unusual - not the mundane.<sup>152</sup> Entries concerning domestic spaces are excellent examples: Dumont de Bostaquet, a nobleman from Normandy, provides little description of his living quarters until a fire in 1673 compels him to describe the lost contents and floor plan.<sup>153</sup> Likewise, repairs or updates to houses are often mentioned without providing a basic report of these structures before modifications occur.<sup>154</sup>

However, as Steven Ozment has demonstrated, letters between family members address the aspects of everyday life that diaries tend to omit. Even though this correspondence would appear to be the best source to describe the role of music in households, letters seldom address the musical life of the family – and when they do, it is in general and vague terms. For example, Felix Platter, a Basel doctor (and semi-professional lutenist) frequently corresponded with his father by letter during his medical studies at the University of Montpellier in the mid 1550s. In these letters, he requests lute strings, lute music and marks the unusual points of the day by mentioning his lute

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*History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, Ma: Belknap, 1989), 327; Steven Ozment, *The Burgermeister's Daughter : Scandal in a Sixteenth-Century German Town* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996); Ozment, *Flesh and Spirit : Private Life in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Viking, 1999); Ozment, *Magdalena and Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in 16th-Century Europe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1986).

<sup>151</sup> Foisil, "The Literature of Intimacy," 330.

<sup>152</sup> The most well known exception to this appears in the diaries of Felix Platter, a sixteenth-century Basel dilatant and doctor. See Sean Jennet, ed., *Beloved Son Felix* (London: Muller, Ltd., 1961), Valentin Lötscher, ed., *Felix Platter, Tagbuch* (Basel: Scwabe & Co., 1976).

<sup>153</sup> Foisil, "The Literature of Intimacy," 338.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 336.

performances, duet partners and teaching.<sup>155</sup> Note that Platter's letters and diary seldom mention the details of his medical studies – with the exception of procuring cadavers – and focus on his avocation as a lutenist.<sup>156</sup>

An Early Modern individual's account of the extraordinary aspects of daily life through diaries was not intended for posterity, since many diaries were intended to be destroyed upon the author's death.<sup>157</sup> Rather, the purpose appears to have been self-edification.<sup>158</sup> One's writings, then, could be thought of as the "private" or the "inner" made manifest - the proof of thought and self-enlightenment. This outward manifestation of the "private" was not restricted to paper, however. Other tangible aspects of household privacy emerged in the sixteenth century. Recessed spaces were created within residences with functions separate from the rest of the living or sleeping areas. Stairways were introduced to gain access to these cloistered areas in order not to disturb individuals in other rooms.<sup>159</sup> Yet this sense of privacy was undergoing a change during the Early Modern era as citizens began the process of "externalizing one's inner life and private values" through the daily operation of the home and simultaneously negotiating the rise of middle-class sophistication in German speaking areas.<sup>160</sup>

Thus, the boundaries of public and private life were fluid in the Early Modern period.<sup>161</sup> In recessed devotional space, for example, public life could infringe on the

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<sup>155</sup> John Kmetz, *The Sixteenth-Century Basel Songbooks: Origins, Contents, Contexts* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1995), 135.

<sup>156</sup> Felix Platter, *Beloved Son, Felix*, trans. Sean Jennett (London: Fredrick Muller, 1961), 59.

<sup>157</sup> Phillippe Ariès, "Introduction," in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, Ma.: Belknap, 1989), 5.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>161</sup> Susan Comilang, "English Noblewomen and the Organization of Space: Gardens, Mourning Posts, and Religious Recesses" (Dissertation, The George Washington University, 2002), 192-93.



purpose of private worship. As Comilang comments on Richard Braithwait's *The English Gentlewoman* (1641), the prayer closet is not as autonomous as it may seem. Pointing out Braithwait's metaphor of the acts of private devotion as putting on a play, Comilang suggests that the devotee is an actor, and God becomes the audience.<sup>162</sup> In this instance, public life (and perhaps the sin of vanity) could invade sacred space, rendering the devotions spiritually moot or tainted. Extrapolating this to the possible use of lute chorales and psalms in private devotion: if one performed this repertoire in this context, guarding against secular influences in the music (such as superfluous elaboration, or obfuscation of the melody for example) would be a concern. Using Comilang's metaphor, the unidirectionality of private devotion (conceived of as a play) is designed to focus an individual's devotion to one end – pure devotion. Therefore, it was the responsibility of the individual to remove any hint of secular influence during these practices, as the goal was to be as devotionally authentic as possible.

## **Ib. Space Appropriation**

As domestic and private devotion became commonplace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some Lutheran families in German-speaking lands appropriated areas of the home for general spiritual use - the term "*hauskirche*" (house church) was frequently used to identify these spaces, but was also used to describe a service in the home (perhaps in a dedicated space) by the father for the edification of the family and servants.<sup>163</sup> The *hauskirche* (whether as space or as event) was central to spiritual life in

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<sup>162</sup>Ibid., 196.

<sup>163</sup> The term "Kämmerlein" is also used. See Judith P. Aiken, "Private Piety in Seventeenth-Century Germany and the Devotional Compilations of Casper Stieler," *Daphnis* 29, no. 1 (2000): 8-9. Though the

the home and according to Stephen Rose, the service “often included chorales.”<sup>164</sup> For some Lutheran writers, the *hauskirche* was an alternative, or refuge from public services that were unable to inspire the congregation spiritually. Heinrich Müller, for example, in the preface of his *Geistliche Seelenmusik* (1659), writes “One does better to build himself a little church in his house rather than attend public services that keep them [individuals] from their private devotions.”<sup>165</sup>

Perhaps the most tangible aspect of private devotion is seen in the small private spaces within Early Modern homes. These areas, removed from public living quarters, were purposefully set apart and accessed secretly through bedrooms and stairs in order to promote a sense of “inwardness” by virtue of their secluded environment. This is where “secret and recessed” activities could occur.<sup>166</sup> As religious recesses, these secret areas served to cloister the individual. The spaces were a refuge to read spiritual texts, certainly, but also a private domain to reflect and act on the intellectual and spiritual content of written works.<sup>167</sup> In English contexts, terms such as “the closet of the heart,” “cabinets” and “prayer closets” were used to describe these areas.<sup>168</sup> Yet, these secluded

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term *hauskirche* literally refers to a specific space, it is used historically to designate both a space for domestic devotion and any devotional activities occurring in that space.

<sup>164</sup> Stephen Rose, “Daniel Vetter and the Domestic Keyboard Chorale in Bach's Leipzig,” *Early Music* 33, no. 1 (2005): 49.

<sup>165</sup> Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Seelenmusik/ Bestehend In zehn betrachtugen/ und vier hundert auserlesenen/ Geist- und Krafft-reichen/ so wol altern/als neuen Gesängen* (Rostock: 1659), 139. Translation by Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, vol. 132, *American University Studies* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993), 73.

<sup>166</sup> Cecile Marie Jagodzinski, “Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England” (Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996), 19; Alan Stewart, “The Early Modern Closet Discovered,” *Representations* 50 (1995): 82.; Susan Comilang, “Through the Closet: Private Devotion and the Shaping of Female Subjectivity in the Religious Recess,” *Renaissance and Reformation* 27, no. 3 (2003): 80, 94.

<sup>167</sup> Comilang, “English Noblewomen and the Organization of Space: Gardens, Mourning Posts, and Religious Recesses”, 192.

<sup>168</sup> Jagodzinski, “Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England”, 22, 23. Comilang, “English Noblewomen and the Organization of Space: Gardens, Mourning Posts, and Religious Recesses”, 192.

chambers were not used exclusively for devotional purposes. Some scholars suggest that these rooms were gendered; male private space was one of repose and spiritual reflection, in contrast to private spaces belonging to women, which were used for giving birth, as changing areas and a place to recover from sickness.<sup>169</sup> Regardless of act, these spaces were considered a refuge from authority, whether religious or secular.<sup>170</sup> The objects in private devotional spaces, varied as well. The Englishman Edward Wettenhall in his *Enter into thy Closet* (1684, suggested that one stock these chambers with a “table, stool, candlestick and couch, along with a ‘Bible, a Common Prayer-book two Paper-books (used to register one’s thoughts after spiritual reflection) and a pen and ink.’ ”<sup>171</sup> Inventories of English manor households, for example, frequently include a desk, chairs, maps, writing slates, a calculating board, globe, scissors, compasses, pens, hammers and prayer books in male private space.<sup>172</sup>

Private areas, however, were not limited to the material plane. English Catholics understood the concept of “the private” as extending both to personal silence and to the imaginary “chapel of the mind” where the individual “becomes the seat of God’s presence” through the visualization of religious icons.<sup>173</sup> As Jagodzinski argues, English Protestants conceptualized private prayer as an “autonomous and creative act,” thus sharing, in some regard, Catholic views of private space and personal worship.<sup>174</sup> Yet, regardless of confessional/doctrinal differences, there was a distinct reliance during the

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<sup>169</sup> Jagodzinski, "Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England", 20-21. See also Comilang, "English Noblewomen and the Organization of Space: Gardens, Mourning Posts, and Religious Recesses".

<sup>170</sup> Jagodzinski, "Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England", 22.

<sup>171</sup> Comilang, "English Noblewomen and the Organization of Space: Gardens, Mourning Posts, and Religious Recesses", 202.

<sup>172</sup> Stewart, "The Early Modern Closet Discovered," 82.

<sup>173</sup> Jagodzinski, "Privacy and Print: Reading and Writing in Seventeenth-Century England", 50.

<sup>174</sup> Ibid., 58.

seventeenth century on “the written word” to assist and guide the individual in a spiritual manner.<sup>175</sup> Depending on confessional tradition, the “word” could consist of scripture, sermons, private devotional manuals or treatises.

Recessed and private areas supported the reflection of spiritual matters and hid acts of devotion from the household. This allowed the individual to worship as he or she chose using objects of devotion practice, such as prayer books, bibles and songbooks. Descriptions of private space, however, do not mention the use of musical instruments. In an attempt to determine their possible use in this context, an examination of a seventeenth-century phenomenon - the production of spiritual literature for the literate devout – will provide a circumstantial framework for the appearance and possible use of chorales and psalms for lute.

## II. Andachtliteratur

Devotional manuals or *Andachtliteratur* became a popular and important form of private and domestic devotional instruction in seventeenth-century German-speaking areas. These works were prescriptive manuals for private spiritual practice designed to guide and support one’s daily spiritual life.<sup>176</sup> The overwhelming majority (and indeed the most popular) of these works were translations of English Puritan devotions.<sup>177</sup>

The practice of translating English devotional literature was not new for seventeenth-century German speaking publishers and printers. In fact, this had been

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>176</sup> Peter Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany*, ed. Modern Humanities Research Association, vol. 66, *MHRA Texts and Dissertations* (London: Maney Publishing, 2006), 61. Subjective interpretation, however, may have guided how these works functioned in the context of an individual’s daily routine. Scheitler, “Geistliches Lied und Persönliche Erbaung in 17 Jahrhundert,” 132.

<sup>177</sup> For a catalog of this literature, see McKenzie, *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in German Translation from the Reformation to 1750*.

common practice in Nuremberg, Augsburg and Wittenberg during Luther's lifetime.<sup>178</sup> By 1750, over 1800 religious publications originating from English Protestant and Catholic authors had been translated, printed, re-printed and published in German speaking areas.<sup>179</sup> In the 1600s, Protestant private devotion in German areas was in large part directed by these devotional manuals.<sup>180</sup> While Puritan devotional practices were of Calvinist origin, Puritan devotional literature (as explained below) had more influence in the development of Pietism than in fueling anti-Lutheran or crypto-Calvinist ferment.

Joseph Hall's *The Arte of Divine Meditation* (1606) and Lewis Bayly's *Practise of Piety* (1611) emerged as the most popular Puritan sources appearing in German translation during the seventeenth century - in part because they were directly recommended by early Pietist theologians.<sup>181</sup> Despite the confessional differences between Lutherans and Puritans, most of these manuals were directly translatable because they spoke to "practical Christian activities" in contrast to devotional mechanics, though as Tilley observes, some were "corrected" for proper "Lutheran doctrine."<sup>182</sup>

The German translations of Puritan devotional manuals are mainly diplomatic renderings of the English prints. A brief examination of one such print demonstrates both the exactitude of the translation process and the "corrections" that were made to render the text more suitable for Lutheran audiences. In 1634, Johan Jacob Bodmer published his translation of Bayly's *Practise of Piety* (1611) in Zurich under the title:

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<sup>178</sup> The first extant publication was a translation of Robert Barnes' *Sententiae ex doctoribus collectae* by Johan Bugenhagen, published in Nuremberg in 1531. Ibid., 46.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> Hans Leube, *Orthodoxie und Pietismus*, ed. K. Aland, E. Peschke, and M. Schmidt, vol. 13, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1975), 61.

<sup>181</sup> Damrau, *The Reception of English Puritan Literature in Germany*, 63, Janette Marie Tilley, "Dialogue Techniques in Lutheran Sacred Music of Seventeenth-Century Germany" (Dissertation, University of Toronto, 2003).

<sup>182</sup> Tilley, "Dialogue Techniques in Lutheran Sacred Music of Seventeenth-Century Germany", 178.

*Praxis Pietatis: das ist Übung der Gottseligkeit: Darin begriffen wie ein Christgläuber Mensch in wahrer erkandtnuß Gottes und seiner selbst zu nehmen...*

Bodmer's translation and layout matches Bayly's Chapter for Chapter. Bodmer, however, takes some editorial liberties. For example, Bayly's passage

2) "Remember to sing David's psalms with David's spirit (Matt. xxii. 43.)"<sup>183</sup>

appears as

2) "Darnach solle man die Psalmen Davids mit Davids Geist singen und (wie der Apostellehret 1. Cor. 14. v. 13,14) nicht allein in Geist sonder auch im Verstand."<sup>184</sup>

Here, Bodmer urges the reader that understanding the psalm text is as important as the act of singing "in the spirit" of David. He also has changed the scripture readings attached to Bayly's original. As discussed below, however, Bodmer has some basis to make this change.

Another example of Bodmer "correcting" Bayly's text is seen in the section originally titled: "Rules to be observed in Singing of Psalms." Here, Bayly lists four key points of which the pious should be aware when singing the psalms as a part of devotional practice. Bodmer, however, lists only three and omits the following:

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<sup>183</sup> Bayly, *The Practise of Piety, Directing a Christian how to Walke That He Might Please God*, 154.

<sup>184</sup> Lewis Bayly, *Praxis Peitatis: das ist Übung der Gottseligkeit: Darin begriffen wie ein Christgläuber Mensch in wahrer erkandtnuß Gottes und seiner selbst zu nehmen*, trans. Anon. (Zurich: Johann Jacob Bodmer, 1634), 327.

3) Practise St. Paul's rule—"I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also." (1 Cor. xiv. 15.)."<sup>185</sup>

Note that when comparing the example printed in the preceding paragraph Bodmer has merged two of Bayly's points into one and then added Bayly's scriptural citation. The reference to St. Paul would have been against Lutheran doctrine as the movement renounced the worship of saints in the *Augsburg Confession* (1530), hence the omission.

Though Bodmer may have taken some small liberties in correcting Bayly's work for his Lutheran audience, he retains Bayly's indication of which psalms are to be sung and for what occasion. Bayly's list is rather complete:

*5. Thou mayest, if thou thinkest good, sing all the psalms over in order, for all are most divine and comfortable; but if thou wilt choose some special psalms, as more fit for some times and purposes, and such as, by the oft usage, thy people may the easier commit to memory. Then sing: In the morning, Psalm iii. v. xvi. xxii. cxliv. In the evening, Psalm iv. cxxvii. cxli.[etc].*

Bodmer's translation of this passage:

*"So viel die ordnung belangt so du in dem Gesang der Psalmen Davids halten magst / giltet es gleich: dan sie seind alle heilig und voller Trosts. Wann du aber je einen underscheid darunder machen wilt und dar für haltest daß sich einer besser auff dei zeit schicke alß der ander: so kanst du morgens singen den 3, 5, 16, 22, 144 zu abends den 4, 127, 141[etc.].*

In a musical context, these translated devotional manuals centered upon the psalms. While the use of psalms was most strongly associated with Calvinist practice, it

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<sup>185</sup> Bayly, *The Practise of Piety, Directing a Christian how to Walke That He Might Please God*, 154.

was not prohibited in Lutheran areas. Thus, these translations could appeal to a wide confessional audience if presented in a manner that agreed with specific theological doctrines. That is, the publisher could “correct” offending passages (as Bodmer did with the reference to St. Paul) for select audiences.

## **IIa. Practice**

The practice of the spiritual exercises (frequently called “meditations”) contained in this translated literature was intended to be repetitive, typically occurring prior to the morning meal and after evening meals. To complete the meditations regularly, however, required significant dedication.<sup>186</sup> Lewis Bayly’s *The Practise of Piety* (1611), which we have encountered above, provides a typical example of the literature. When this work appeared in German translation, it was arguably the most exacting work of its kind. First published in Basel (1627), it was reprinted 69 times until 1743 in Basel, Zurich, Lünberg, Danzig, Nürnberg, Strassburg, Utrecht, Frankfurt, Marburg, Bern, Berlin and Amsterdam.<sup>187</sup>

Bayly’s suggested daily practice occurred five times a day: “Upon awakening,” “morning household meditations,” “preparations for the evening,” “meditations before eating” and “private piety at evenings.” Prayers, meditations and scripture readings comprised a significant part of these daily rituals. Psalms were to be sung after the morning household meditations (Ps. 3, 5, 16, 22, 144) and private piety at evenings (Ps.

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<sup>186</sup> Tilley, "Dialogue Techniques in Lutheran Sacred Music of Seventeenth-Century Germany", 179.

<sup>187</sup> McKenzie, *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in German Translation from the Reformation to 1750*, 70-82.



4, 127, 141).<sup>188</sup> Not including scriptural passages, Bayly's daily practice required the owner to read and meditate upon 25-30 pages of material and sing a total of eight psalms per day if the owner was a head of household.<sup>189</sup> Richard Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book* (1674), on the other hand, was less demanding. He suggests that "...family worship be kept twice a day, unless some extraordinary necessity hinder it: At the most convenient time of day."<sup>190</sup>

## **Iib. Importance of Family Devotion**

For pious Protestants, song, prayer and spiritual lectures structured much of the Early Modern household.<sup>191</sup> The importance of family devotion is frequently mentioned in Baxter's *The Poor Man's Family Book*. He writes, "Family prayer is of great necessity, because there is each person contained."<sup>192</sup> His concern about family prayer is not simply a matter of spiritual reward in the afterlife, though this is an important aspect of worship.<sup>193</sup> Rather, for Baxter "Holy families are the chief seminaries of Christ's Church on earth."<sup>194</sup> Unlike Bayly's book, Baxter's work lacks the detailed devotional mechanics and prescriptive elements. Instead, he suggests that "...if you have time, without coming too late to the Assembly (the evening meal), read the Scripture, sing a Psalm of Praise,

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<sup>188</sup> Bayly does not mention the use a specific psalter. Note that though Bayly states that the psalms could be sung in order, the selections he provides here are best for these exercises.

<sup>189</sup> Bayly, *The Practise of Piety, Directing a Christian how to Walke That He Might Please God*.

<sup>190</sup> Richard Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book* (London: 1674), 316.

<sup>191</sup> Patrice Veit, "'...daheime seine Zeit mit Singen, mit Beten und Lesen zugebracht': Über den Umgang mit Kirchenliedern im außergottesdienstlichen Kontext," in *Die Quellen Johann Sebastian Bachs: Bachs Musik im Gottesdienst*, ed. Helmuth Rilling and Renate Steiger (Heidelberg: Manutius, 1998), 330.

<sup>192</sup> Baxter, *The Poor Man's Family Book*, 319.

<sup>193</sup> "A Holy Family is a place of comfort: A Church of God: What a joy will it be to you, to live together daily in this Hope, that you shall meet and live together in Heaven?" Ibid., 289.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., 290.

and call on God with joyful thanksgiving.”<sup>195</sup> However, just as in Bayly’s *Practise of Piety* and Joseph Hall’s *The Arte of Divine Meditation* (1606),<sup>196</sup> there is no mention of instrumental music in the service of family devotion.<sup>197</sup>

While some of this literature might appear prescriptive by twenty-first-century standards, its popularity appears to speak to its guidelines being welcomed by a wide group of readers and worshippers. Protestant heads-of-households (usually the father) assumed the responsibility for the other family members’ spiritual well-being and education, though not in a “tyrannical” manner.<sup>198</sup> In addition to the daily individual and familial prayers, the father read from a variety of printed sources: The Bible, psalms, printed catechisms, printed sermons, etc.<sup>199</sup> More importantly, however, the father was responsible for the spiritual *edification* of his household.<sup>200</sup> Early Modern Protestant fathers were not only the heads-of-household, but also the moral leaders, spiritual teachers and pastors to the entire dwelling. *Andachtliteratur* was clearly designed to assist those individuals in meeting their spiritual and moral responsibilities.

## **IIc. Music in Domestic Devotion**

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid., 326.

<sup>196</sup> Frank Livingstone Huntley, *Bishop Joseph Hall and Protestant Meditation in Seventeenth-Century England: A Study with the texts of The Art of Divine Meditation (1606) and Ocassional Meditations (1613)*, *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1981).

<sup>197</sup> Baxter, *The Poor Man’s Family Book*, 303.

<sup>198</sup> Gerald Strauss, *Luther’s House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 120.

<sup>199</sup> François Leburn, “The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety,” in *A History of Private Life*, ed. Roger Chartier (Cambridge, Ma.: Belknap, 1989), 102-03.

<sup>200</sup> “Dabei dominiert die Figur des Hausvater, der insbesondere für die Religion in seinem Haus verantwortlich ist.” Veit, “...daheime seine Zeit mit Singen, mit Beten und Lesen zugebracht”: Über den Umgang mit Kirchenliedern im außergottesdienstlichen Kontext,” 330.

Domestic devotion focused on the spiritual edification of the family.<sup>201</sup> Religious literature — bible readings, theological tracts, sermons and *Andachtliteratur* – formed the center of this practice. Singing was very important as witnessed both by the number of *hausmusik* prints and by the appearance of chorales and psalms in prayer books.<sup>202</sup> In addition to centralizing and focusing the family around domestic rituals, musical texts aided in transmitting the critical teachings necessary for the spiritual edification of the household.<sup>203</sup> The importance of singing in the Early Modern Protestant household has been recognized in musicological literature; scholars have only recently explored why it remained a crucial aspect of household edification.<sup>204</sup> As Judith Aiken notes, there was a “demand” for prayer books, sacred poetry and sacred music for the *hauskirche* as shown by the number of prints with the term *hausmusik* prominently featured on the title pages.<sup>205</sup> Christopher Boyd Brown mentions that “Lutheran hymns and the devotions that surrounded them helped to integrate the household religiosity...across generations [and] social lines.”<sup>206</sup> Aiken further describes the equal weight of family prayer and hymn singing as “holistic,” since many seventeenth-century *Haus-Andacht* prints contained prayers, musical texts and occasionally melodies.<sup>207</sup> This highlights the importance

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<sup>201</sup> Christopher Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 105.

<sup>202</sup> Aiken, "Private Piety in Seventeenth-Century Germany and the Devotional Compilations of Casper Stieler," 230. Aiken cites Johann Habermann's *Gebetbüchlein* (1562) and Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* (1612) as examples of hymns placed at the end of these books. Arndt's publication is commonly recognized as the central inspiration to the Pietism.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*: 231.

<sup>204</sup> See Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*.

<sup>205</sup> Aiken cites Johann Staden, *Hauß Music Geistlicher Gesang* (1634), Johann Heerman, *Devoti Musica Cordis/Haus und Hertz Musica* (1644) and Johann Franckens *Geistliches Sion Oder Hauß-Music* (1674) as seventeenth-century examples. Aiken, "Private Piety in Seventeenth-Century Germany and the Devotional Compilations of Casper Stieler," 8-9. See also Andreas Hammerschmidt's *Musicalische Andachten* (1646).

<sup>206</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, 109.

<sup>207</sup> Aiken, "Private Piety in Seventeenth-Century Germany and the Devotional Compilations of Casper Stieler," 233, 56.

placed upon the act of singing sacred songs in private devotional contexts.<sup>208</sup> Thus, singing appears equally weighted with prayer and the use of religious literature. Brought together, these three mechanisms served as the pillars of domestic edification.

Sacred music in Lutheran households was more than just a method to praise God, however. It served as a marker and pillar of the faith from the beginnings of the movement that aided in developing Lutheran identity.<sup>209</sup> Mathesius mentions that pious Lutherans "...should keep their Evangelical faith alive in their 'houses and hearts'".<sup>210</sup> This was accomplished by not simply by singing chorales, but by recognizing that the text of these musical works "...carried the message of the sermon..." and scripture back to the home.<sup>211</sup> The message, however, was intended to "concentrate the believer's thoughts" and "offer him words and sounds with which to express the joy he felt in his heart."<sup>212</sup>

It was not only these aspects of faith that were transported to the household, but that the "spiritual prerogatives of the laity" were respected and recognized. A part of this acknowledgment was the transfer of sacred music. Beyond musical concerns, chorales and psalms were a mode of spiritual edification that could be carried silently after the melody and text were committed to memory. Given the plethora of chorale texts produced during the Early Modern Era, it appears that the individual was authorized (at least implicitly) to interpret sacred-song text subjectively. Those who intabulated

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<sup>208</sup> For example, *Kapellmeister* Wolfgang Carl Briegel (1650-1671) in his *Musicalischer Lebens-brunn* (1680) stated that his musical works were intended for "devout, god-blessed hearts and minds [so that they] might be encouraged and moved to praise God as brothers and also to one's soul's edification and heartfelt prayer. Tilley, "Dialogue Techniques in Lutheran Sacred Music of Seventeenth-Century Germany", 195.

<sup>209</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, 82.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>212</sup> Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation*, 235.

*geistliche lieder* for lute seem similarly empowered. Lutenists interpreted a four-part chorale setting subjectively by adding brief flourishes, divisions and other typical aspects of lute practice. It was, perhaps, this “prerogative of the laity” that spawned lute chorales.

Fueling this empowerment of the laity during the early seventeenth century was a subtle change in chorale text composition. Specifically, chorale texts in the late sixteenth-century shifted from using the pronoun “we” (*unser, wir*) to “I.” (*ich*) According to some, chorales that contained the first person singular were for “private devotions in the home.”<sup>213</sup> The rhetorical impact of the pronoun shift cannot be underestimated. By associating the chorale text directly with the individual, as opposed to a group, individuals could directly interpret the meaning of the text *as* individuals – not as part of a group. This would aid in understanding the meaning of the text as it related to self-edification – the purpose of private devotions. What changed in these chorale texts was not only a change in pronoun use; it reflected a shift from stressing the centrality of communal worship in the early Reformation era to stressing the priesthood of the individual.<sup>214</sup>

## **IId. The Role of Instrumental Music in Domestic Devotion**

Since German *Andachtliteratur* reflected Puritan practices of private devotion, an examination of the role of instruments in the Puritan household may provide some suggestions for the use of the lute in German devotional activities. Seemingly far removed from Lutheran practiced on the European continent, Puritanism and Lutheranism are linked through these common devotions. That is, they share the

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<sup>213</sup> Reidel, *The Lutheran Chorale: Its Basic Traditions*, 56.

<sup>214</sup> Liemohn, *The Chorale*, 64.

structures, or mechanics, of domestic piety: The Bible, spiritual readings, meditations and singing. Certainly, these two Protestant sects differed in theological orientation, yet the use of sacred song – especially psalms – was shared.<sup>215</sup> This shared tradition may (at least partially) explain the early seventeenth century production of psalm prints for lute.

There appears to be some similarities when it comes to Early Modern Puritans' use of instruments for private devotions and Lutheran conceptions of devotional music making. Despite Lewis Bayly and John Hall's lack of explicit sanctioning for singing psalms or the use of instruments to accompany private devotions, Hall mentions that singing a psalm after private devotions lifted his "heart and voice to God."<sup>216</sup> John Cotton, an important Puritan leader in New England, states in his *Singing of the Psalmes a Gospel-Ordinance* (London, 1647) that instrumental accompaniment for family devotional activities is not forbidden as long as the "...attention to the instrument does not divert the heart from attention to the matter of the song."<sup>217</sup> This mention of a New World Puritan and his views on the role of instrumental music in the household is not as removed from the Lutheran family as it would seem. Cotton's views on private piety were already established in German lands. His "*The way of Life; or, God's way* (1641) appeared in translation and was published in Heidelberg three times, 1662, 1664 and 1670. Thomas Lechford, also a Puritan and the first lawyer in Massachusetts, in another London publication that had appeared five years before Cotton's *Way of Life*, opined a more pragmatic reason for the use of instrumental music in public devotional settings:

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<sup>215</sup> Some scholars also note that a shared musical tradition (chorales specifically) aids uniting communities and breaking down social barriers. Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, 39.

<sup>216</sup> Bishop Joseph Hall, *The Art of Meditation* (Jenintown, Pa.: Sovereign Grace Publishers, 1972), 26-27.

<sup>217</sup> Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1962), 247. Note that Cotton's

“...and lest they [a congregation] may fall out of tune their tunes to jarring, why may they not use the help of some musical instruments?”<sup>218</sup> Thomas Ford, writing in 1651 in his *Singing of Psalms the Duty of Christians* mentions the lute specifically, though his bias is clear: “For other songs [not psalms] (always supposed that there be no vanity, nor filthiness, nor scurrility, nor reflecting upon other men's good name, which all Christians must be far from) they may be for honest delight and recreation, for ought I know, even as a man may play a lesson on a lute or other instrument to refresh his spirits.”<sup>219</sup> A 1695 diary reference by an enigmatic London music aficionado, Evelyn, describes a blind Sir Samuel Morland who recently buried £200 of “music books” (presumably secular) and only “...plays himself psalms and religious hymns on the theorbo.”<sup>220</sup> Despite Bayly and Hall’s silence on the subject of instruments in their devotional manuals, some Puritans certainly felt that instruments were an important part of their devotional practice, perhaps demonstrated by the production of sacred music intabulations for lute in England.<sup>221</sup> These examples demonstrate that the devotional actions of Puritans differed somewhat when compared to the writings of Bayly and Hall. In this context, both Puritans and Lutherans were acting similarly when using musical instruments as a part of piety. Lutheran thought on the primary role of music was already settled by the seventeenth century. Puritan’s acting in this manner partially supports the case for the use of instruments (and the production of repertoire) by German speakers of both Calvinist and Lutheran orientations.

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<sup>218</sup> Thomas Lechford, *Plaine Dealing, or News from New England* (London: 1642).

<sup>219</sup> Thomas Ford, *Singing of Psalms the Duty of Christians* (Accessed [March 25 2007]), <http://easyweb.easynet.co.uk/~jbeggsoc/jbsolrec.html>.

<sup>220</sup> Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 313.

<sup>221</sup> The printed broken consort repertoire (in table-book format) provides some examples. See Richard Allison, *The Psalms of David in Meter* (1599) and Robert Tailor, *Sacred Hymns, Consisting of Fifti Select Psalms of David and Others, Paraphrastically Turned into English Verse* (London: 1615).

The importance of these references concerning Puritan thought on instrumental music as a part of piety should not be viewed as remote, but an integral part of Lutheran (especially Pietist) private devotion. The popularity and influence of the German translations of this literary genre cannot be measured simply in terms of books sold or reprints. Rather, these books, meditations and private spiritual ideals were the source of the mechanical aspects of private devotion in Protestant German areas. The fact that Puritans did not explicitly ban the use of musical instruments outright (and in fact left open the possibility of their incorporation into private devotion, if used with the appropriate spiritual intent) suggests that they may have implicitly sanctioned instrumental accompaniment to sacred song by omission. This sanctioning, as it crossed to continental Europe, was in complete agreement with orthodox Lutheran and even emergent Pietist thought concerning instrumental music and its role in supporting a pious life. With Puritan devotional manuals comprising the bulk of German Lutheran private devotional literature, it is the actions of Puritans outside of the devotional manuals that supports the role of instruments in German private devotions. Since Puritans clearly used musical instruments as a part of their piety, and since Puritan devotional literature implicitly allowed the use of instruments in devotional manuals and Lutheran thought explicitly sanctioned music as a part of public and private worship, Puritan domestic sacred musical practice was similar to Lutheran practice. Thus, as *Andachtliteratur* developed in the seventeenth century, Lutheran consumers of these properly “corrected” publications may have had little hesitation in infusing Calvinist-based sacred musical practices in the home since the music (psalms) was of biblical origin and the use of



instruments in domestic devotions appears to have been a norm that crossed confessional and geographic boundaries.

### III. Lutheran Theological Thought on Music

Intertwined with the *act* of private devotion was its theological foundation. Given the number of variant confessions emerging in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the spiritual role of music in both public and private settings was a concern - demonstrated by the number of debates printed in Lutheran territories during this period. This study is not concerned with these debates specifically, but a brief description of Lutheran theological thought will aid in understanding the role of music in domestic devotional practice.

Hymnologists and historians alike have discussed the Protestant view of music at length. A number of oft-quoted phrases ostensibly illustrate Luther's embrace of music for its spiritual power, for example: "...Next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise,"<sup>222</sup> "Looking at music itself, you will find that from the beginning of the world, it has been instilled and implanted in all creatures, individually and collectively,"<sup>223</sup> "...next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise,"<sup>224</sup> music is a "noble, wholesome and cheerful creation of God,"<sup>225</sup> and "the [most] excellent gift of God,"<sup>226</sup> These and other quotes support Luther's presumed high estimation of the

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<sup>222</sup> Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Hartmut Lehmann, American ed., 55 vols., vol. 53, *Luther's Works in 55 Volumes* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), 323.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 322.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid., 323.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 324.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 321.

function of music in “its potential for communicating the gospel.”<sup>227</sup> Luther is even quoted as having provided biblical proof for his opinions: “The Holy Ghost himself honors her [music] as an instrument of his proper work when in his Holy Scriptures he asserts that through her [music] his gifts were instilled in the prophets...[II Kings 3:15].”<sup>228</sup>

For early Lutheran theologians, music was “a means of moving the heart to devotion.”<sup>229</sup> This is expressed in their agreement with Luther of the Augustinian view of music; if music did not arouse the senses, it aided a spiritual life. Luther, however, eschewed Augustine’s more secular concerns and instead, focused on music’s power to inspire the heart. Other writers agree with Luther’s Augustinian alignment and expand on the function of music by suggesting that it was an important part of the household in the context of child rearing. Johannes Mathesius (1504-1556) holds Luther’s view on music as he describes it as a “glorious gift of God” and a “heavenly and divine thing.”<sup>230</sup> He goes further, however, in suggesting that Biblical prophets “cultivated music along with their theology” to support his claim.<sup>231</sup> Nicolaus Selnecker (1532-1592), a composer of sacred song, theologian and one of the principal authors of the *Formula of Concord*, wrote in 1571 that “...a good melody and beautiful text refreshes body and soul and is an organ or instrument which the Holy Spirit uses to refresh and comfort hearts, to instruct

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<sup>227</sup> Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 3. For example: “...may by this creation [music] accustom yourself to recognize and praise the Creator.” Luther, *Luther's Works*, 324.

<sup>228</sup> Luther, *Luther's Works*, 323.

<sup>229</sup> Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 26.

<sup>230</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, 50. Mathesius was a friend of Luther and was one of his early biographers.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

youth and bring them up in the teaching of God..."<sup>232</sup> Likewise, Lutheran theologian Johann Conrad Dannhauer (1603-1666) mentions that hymns have a pedagogical component and "...are instructive for those can neither read nor write."<sup>233</sup>

Altogether, the sixteenth-century Lutheran view of music was one of pragmatism, both spiritually and domestically. Music was a gift of God, aligned with the Augustinian view in that it inspired an individual's heart to spiritual devotion. Pragmatically, however, music was also a part of a spiritual pedagogical practice in the household. Underlying this view is music's purpose to communicate the Word; music is considered an outward means of spiritual expression, which by the gift of the Holy Spirit and based upon Christian freedom, moves the heart to devotion.<sup>234</sup> That Luther was in favor of music for devotional practice is in little doubt. For him, music was a divine gift of God. As a function of Christian freedom, these "external ceremonies" (household devotions) became a "central pillar in the fostering and expression of faith."<sup>235</sup> This theological conceptualization of music held fast for much of the sixteenth century. When the Wittenberg theological faculty addressed the function of public instrumental music in 1586, they concluded that instrumental music was "such a gift of God as to move the

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<sup>232</sup> Nicolaus Selnecker, "Auslegung des 73. Psalm Davids," in *Der Ander Teil des Psalters vom funffzigsten Psalm an bis zu dem 101* (Leipzig: 1571), 115. Translation Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 29-30. For a discussion of Selnecker's role in Protestant education, see Lowell Green, "The Bible in Sixteenth-Century Humanist Education," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 112-34.

<sup>233</sup> Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 61.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>235</sup> Luther's third publication *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (On the Freedom of a Christian) outlined the doctrine of justification by faith and priesthood of all believers by suggesting that Christians freely serve God and their peers in their own manner. An English translation is available at <http://www.ctsfw.edu/etext/luther/freedom/>. *Ibid.*, 12-13.

hearts of men with power even when no human voice sings along.”<sup>236</sup> Certainly, this aligns with and amplifies Luther’s thoughts on the role of music, but these theologians went further and stated that instrumental music (as long as it did not interfere with the comprehensibility of worship) should be allowed in Lutheran devotion as “music communicates its spiritual *genus*.”<sup>237</sup> In this case “genus” means the source or intent of the musical work. The most easily recognizable aspect of genus would be the incipit or text. A secondary aspect of recognition would be the melody that would remind an individual of the text.

The first decades of the seventeenth century marked a distinct change in the theological conception of Lutheran music.<sup>238</sup> In summarizing Christoph Frick’s thoughts on the effect music had on seventeenth-century pious Lutherans in his *Musica Christania* (1615), Joyce Irwin notes, “No longer is music an instrument of the Spirit preparing the soul for devotion, but it is rather an instrument of use by an individual who has been moved by the Spirit.”<sup>239</sup> Music relinquished its presence as a divine gift from the Holy Spirit and fell squarely in the realm of man. It became an *expression* of devotion, not the inspiration to devotion. Thus, it was an individual’s *heart* that was moved by the Holy Spirit to praise God through music.<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Georg Dedeken, *Thesauri Consiliorum et Decisionum* (Hamburg: 1623), 1076. English translation of this passage in Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 16. Dedeken’s publication was a compilation of numerous 1597 treatises describing a colloquy in 1586 where theologians from Wittenberg and Anhalt debated the religious fate of Montbéliard. The quote cited above comes from *Notwendige Antwort auff die in Fürstenthumb Anhalt ohn langsten ausgesprengte hefftige Schrift*, 1597.

<sup>237</sup> Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 16.

<sup>238</sup> Joyce Irwin, "Music and the Doctrine of Adiaphora in Orthodox Lutheran Theology," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 2, no. 14 (1983): 160.

<sup>239</sup> Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque*, 32.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*

The importance of this new thinking is not the effect it had on lute intabulations of Lutheran hymns. Rather, regardless of the theological debate occurring at the time, the lutenist (or consumer of lute prints) could justify accompanying singers of sacred song or playing intabulations of sacred music using either a sixteenth- or a seventeenth-century theological position. This allowed lutenists, both professional and amateur, the theological support to perform this repertoire in public or private contexts and compose in a manner that praised God. This has significant impact when considering that lute arrangements of sacred music in the later seventeenth century were written for Baroque lute and unabashedly incorporated French secular style. Specifically, if one's *heart* was moved to devotion by the Holy Spirit and playing an intabulation of *Ein feste burg ist unser Gott* imbued with French stylistic practices was the devotional mechanism of choice, this act was theologically defensible because the musical performance of praise was as much a function of devotion as prayer or meditation. That is, the stylistic nature of the arrangement was irrelevant, it was performing or hearing an act of devotion that was theologically sound and that increased piety in an individual.

Lutheran thought on the role of music supports the production and use of lute chorales and psalms as an empowering act of praise and source of spiritual edification. When brought together, music and *Andachtliteratur* were uniquely suited to developing and maintaining an individual's spiritual life. This may have lead to the demand (or need) for intabulations of chorales and psalms that some lutenists were eager to meet.

#### **IV. Chapter Conclusion**

The preceding discussion attempts to provide a context for the use of chorale and

psalms intabulations appearing in both print and manuscript during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It seems likely that lutes were used for domestic devotional purposes – and perhaps more frequently than we assume.

However, it would be hasty to connect this literature directly with psalms intabulated for lute and to declare that the Vallet, Reymann and Laelius psalm prints (discussed in Chapter two) appeared as a direct consequence of this literature. In the first two decades of the seventeenth century, there are a number of concurrent developments and actions that are important to this study and this repertoire: the popularity of the Lobwasser and Geneva Psalters and the publication of three complete Psalters for the lute (both discussed in Chapter two), the continuation and growth of appropriating private space for spiritual devotions in households, the rise of *Andachtliteratur*, a continuing dialogue concerning the role of music between Orthodox Lutheran and Pietist theologians and the emergence of proto-Pietist writings.

It is to this last issue – the connection between proto-Pietist practices and the appearance of the most comprehensive “anthologized” print of chorales (rather than psalms) for lute – that we turn in Chapter Four.

## Chapter 4: Esaias Reusner and the Lute Chorale

### I. Introduction

Esaias Reusner's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (Berlin, 1678) was the first printed collection of Kirchenlieder arranged for the lute in Baroque tuning.<sup>241</sup> The collection reflects a union of stylistic elements emerging from France (a series of codified ornaments and *style brisé*) with the traditional Lutheran chorale repertoire. Thus, the print provides an important “modernization” of the approach taken by Reusner's own father, whose collection *Musikalischer Lust-Garten* – containing almost 100 chorale intabulations, but in the older German tuning – appeared in Breslau more than a quarter century earlier. This Chapter will outline the biography and publishing history of the Reusners (father and son), and will provide a description of the 1678 print and an analysis of two chorale intabulations. It will also provide a context for the *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* by examining the religious orientation of Reusner's last employer (the Elector of Brandenburg) and the rise of Pietism in Brandenburg.

### II. Biography

Biographical research on the Reusner family – about whom little is known – is complicated by the fact that father and son shared not only both first and last names, but also their trade: both lutenists, both published collections of chorale arrangements for lute. Esaias Reusner junior (1636-1679) was born in Löwenburg, Silesia (now Lwówek

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<sup>241</sup> Esaias Reusner, *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder, welche auf die Fest- und andere Tage, so wol in der christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden* (Berlin: 1678), 148.

Slaski, Poland), approximately 100 miles west of Breslau.<sup>242</sup> The family moved to Breslau (now Wrocław, Poland) in 1645 after the death of Belinda, wife of the elder Reusner and mother of the younger.<sup>243</sup> On the year of their arrival in Breslau, Reusner Senior published his *Musicalischer Lust-Garten* (1645), a collection of 98 chorale intabulations for 10-course lute in German renaissance tuning dedicated to “The citizens and city government of the royal city of Danzig.”<sup>244</sup> At the time of this publication, the elder Reusner identifies himself as a lutenist in the court of Duke “Buestat in Silesia.”<sup>245</sup> There is no further information on the elder Reusner, except for the fact that he died sometime between 1660 and 1680; what follows is an account of the career of the younger Reusner.

In 1646, Reusner junior played for the Queen of Poland, Maria Luisa of Gonzaga in Danzig.<sup>246</sup> Two years later, he re-appeared in Breslau as a page to Count Arvid Wittenberg of Sweden, serving until 1650.<sup>247</sup> He found another employer in Breslau, war commissioner Müller, the following year.<sup>248</sup> Reusner was taken into the service of Princess (Anna Maria?) Radziwill in 1651 when she visited Breslau.<sup>249</sup> For the next three

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<sup>242</sup> George Buelow, Reusner, Esaias (ii) *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [6 October 2006]).

<sup>243</sup> Peter Pöfgen, "Reusner, Esaias," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1994), 1584.

<sup>244</sup> Reusner, *Musikalischer Lustgarten, das ist: Herren D. Martini Lutheri, Wie auch anderer Gottseliger (der Reinen Augspurgischen Confession zugethaner) Männer / Geistliche Kirchen und Hauß Lieder auff Lautentabulatur gesetzt*.

<sup>245</sup> ‘Buestat’ is now Bieturow, Poland. See Pöfgen, "Reusner, Esaias," 1584.

<sup>246</sup> Hans Neemann, ed., *Esaias Reusner: Lautenwerke* (Frankfurt: Henry Litolf, 1985), preface. It is not known why the younger Reusner appeared in Danzig. It is possible that his father was attempting to secure employment in Danzig given the dedication in his *Musikalischer Lustgarten*, published the year before, and that the younger Reusner’s performance was connected to this effort.

<sup>247</sup> Buelow, Reusner, Esaias (ii).

<sup>248</sup> Pöfgen, "Reusner, Esaias."

<sup>249</sup> Neemann, ed., *Esaias Reusner: Lautenwerke*, preface.



years, he received lute lessons from an unknown French lutenist in her retinue.<sup>250</sup> He returned to Breslau in 1654 and found employment there (at the age of nineteen) as a lutenist to Georg III, Duke of Silesia.<sup>251</sup> In 1660, Reusner married Maria Böhm, with whom he had three sons.<sup>252</sup> Georg III died in 1664, which resulted in Reusner's unemployment the following year, yet he was successful in securing his former position with new Duke of Silesia, Christian von Brieg, an arrangement that lasted until 1672.<sup>253</sup> Reusner's most prolific publishing period began during Reusner's employment with the new Silesian Duke, with his release of three prints in less than four years.<sup>254</sup> In 1673, Reusner left the court of Christian von Brieg and moved to Leipzig, where he taught lute at the University.<sup>255</sup> During his brief stay in the city, he was also the principal theorbist at the Thomaskirche for nine months.<sup>256</sup> It was during this year that his *Musicalischer Blumenstrauß* was published in Bremen.<sup>257</sup>

Reusner's last and most illustrious position (1674-1679) was as *Cammer Lautenisten* at the court of Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg-Prussia.<sup>258</sup> It was

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<sup>250</sup> Paffgen, "Reusner, Esaias," 1586.

<sup>251</sup> Buelow, Reusner, Esaias (ii).

<sup>252</sup> Neemann, ed., *Esaias Reusner: Lautenwerke*, preface.

<sup>253</sup> Paffgen, "Reusner, Esaias," 1585.

<sup>254</sup> These prints were all collections of suites: Esaias Reusner, *Delitiae testudinis, praeludiis, paduanis, allemandis, courantis, sarabandis, giguis, et gavottis* (Breslau: 1667); Esaias Reusner, *Musicalische Gesellschafts-Ergetzung bestehend in Sonaten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, und Gigueen ... von Esaias reusner auf die Lautien gesetzt, allen Musikliebhabern aber zur Ergötzung in vier Stimmen gebracht, also dass dieselben auf Violinen können gebracht werden, durch Georg Stanley* (Brieg: Georg Stanley, 1670); Esaias Reusner, *Musicalische Taffel-Erlustigung, bestehend in allerhand Paduanen, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, Balletten, und Gigueen von Esaias Reusner auf dei Lauten gesetzt, allen Musikleben aber zue Ergötzung in vier Stimmen gebracht, also das dieselben nach französischer Art auf Violen füglich können gebraucht werden, durch Johann Georg Stanley* (Brieg: 1668).

<sup>255</sup> Buelow, Reusner, Esaias (ii).

<sup>256</sup> Neemann, ed., *Esaias Reusner: Lautenwerke*, preface.

<sup>257</sup> Esaias Reusner, *Musicalischer Blumenstrauß, zusammen-gebunden von hundert allerhand nach französischer Mainier zur Lust dienender Präludien, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, Gigueen, Maskeraden, Arien, Galliarden und Bouréen* (Bremen: 1673).

<sup>258</sup> Paffgen, "Reusner, Esaias," 1585.

during this period that he self-published an additional collection of suites and the *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder*.<sup>259</sup> A psalm collection was apparently planned, but never published before Reusner died in 1679.<sup>260</sup>

## **Ila. Brandenburg**

In 1613, Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (1562-1619) declared his conversion to Calvinism, which broke an almost four-decade-long adherence to Luther's reforms in the duchy.<sup>261</sup> Sigismund wanted to align with the Calvinist bloc of Frederick of the Palatinate and the Dutch republic to wield more power in the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire, but the citizens of Brandenburg refused to convert; even his wife, Anna of Prussia, held her Lutheran orientation.<sup>262</sup> Despite this, Johann Sigismund and his inner circle at court retained their Calvinist beliefs.<sup>263</sup> His heir, Georg Wilhelm (1595-1640) kept his father's confession while his subjects remained primarily Lutheran.<sup>264</sup>

When Frederick Wilhelm assumed the position of Elector in 1640, his immediate concern was Brandenburg's position during wartime. Having lost a significant portion of Pomerania at the Peace of Westphalia, his goal of making Brandenburg a significant commercial power was thwarted temporarily, though his legitimization as a Calvinist ruler (a part of the Westphalia agreement) put him on equal footing with his Lutheran colleagues. After the Thirty Years War, Frederick Wilhelm continued to reach his

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<sup>259</sup> His last collection of secular music was Esaias Reusner, *Neue Lauten-Früchte. Allen dieses Instruments Liebhabern zur Ergötzlichkeit Übung und Nutzen mit besonderem Fleiß aufgesetzt und verlang von Esaias Reusner, churfürstlich brandenb. Cammer-Lautenisten* (Berlin: 1676).

<sup>260</sup> Neemann, ed., *Esaias Reusner: Lautenwerke*, preface.

<sup>261</sup> Derek McKay, *The Great Elector*, ed. Keith Robbins, *Profiles in Power* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2001), 5-6.

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid., 7.

commercial goals through skirmishes with Sweden and Poland, yet was unsuccessful in converting Brandenburg into a Calvinist state as orthodox Lutheranism remained the primary confession in his territories.<sup>265</sup> This left Brandenburg a principality of Lutheran subjects (with a small Calvinist minority) ruled by a Calvinist court. In order to keep the peace and gain control over the Lutheran estates in Brandenburg, Frederick Wilhelm took his grandfather's lead and adopted a policy of religious tolerance by issuing a number of edicts in the early 1660s banning the persecution of all Protestants.<sup>266</sup>

### **Iib. Music at the Berlin Court**

During the middle of the seventeenth century, financial difficulties made musical activities at the Brandenburg court a relatively low priority. Before the start of the Thirty Years War, however, Johann Sigismund employed 37 musicians and three singers. The most prestigious composer brought into court was the Protestant student of Lassus, Johannes Eckerd (1553-1611) who worked at Brandenburg between 1608 and 1611. By the time of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), only seven musicians were retained in service of the court. During Frederick Wilhelm's reign, however, the *hofkapelle* reached 13 members. Frederick's apparent disinterest in the musical life of court was predictable. Since he was busy with developing the commercial power of the Brandenburg territories, music was simply not a priority for Frederick. The general citizenry may have followed Frederick's lead, since the first book of *Kirchenlieder* in four-part harmonization was not published locally in Berlin until 1658. However, it would be hasty to claim that the Elector was not concerned with musical activities. In 1652, he commissioned Christoph

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<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>266</sup> Catholics, however, remained banned from both public and private services in most Brandenburg territories. Ibid., 148, 50-51.

Hasselberg to revive the musical services at St. Nicholas, one of Berlin's oldest churches. It was during this rebuilding period after the Thirty Years War that Esaias Reusner junior was employed as Frederick's chamber lutenist.<sup>267</sup>

### III. Pietism

During the seventeenth century, Brandenburg was an area that promoted religious tolerance - perhaps more for economic and demographic reasons than religious ecumenism.<sup>268</sup> Though the duchy was primarily composed of Lutherans and Calvinists, Jewish citizens received some amount of religious protection.<sup>269</sup> This protection was not limited to public worship, as Frederick Wilhelm tacitly allowed private devotions, which opened the door to new views of prevailing religious ideas.<sup>270</sup> It is not surprising that such a tolerant state became fertile ground for a reaction to orthodox Lutheranism, in the form of Pietism.

Most scholars trace the beginnings of Pietism to the writings of the Lutheran Pastor Johannes Arndt (1555-1621) in his *Sechs Bücher vom wahren Christentum*, published starting in 1605 and into the early 1620s.<sup>271</sup> Arndt's writings (undertaken mostly when he was ministering in Braunschweig and Magdeburg) focus on the mystical nature of the "soul as the bride and Jesus as the bridegroom."<sup>272</sup> He drew upon the pre-Reformation mysticism of the *Devotio Moderna* (a late-medieval religious movement that

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<sup>267</sup> Heinz Becker, *Berlin Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [March 15 2007]).

<sup>268</sup> McKay, *The Great Elector*, 152.

<sup>269</sup> In 1669, Frederick Wilhelm demanded that fund from the city of Halberstadt be used to rebuild a synagogue destroyed by an angry mob. *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>271</sup> F. Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), 202-03.

<sup>272</sup> Johannes Wallmann, "Johannes Arndt (1555-1621)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 31.

stressed the examination of Christian fundamental texts to establish a personal relationship with God), a tradition apparently unknown to Luther.<sup>273</sup> This focus on an individual's responsibility to develop such a spiritual relationship led Arndt to interpret Luke 17:21 "...the kingdom of God comes not with observable things...for the kingdom of God is within you" as affirming that the "kingdom of God is an event in the human soul."<sup>274</sup> For Arndt, the task of reaching the kingdom was a personal responsibility achieved through personal study.

Though historians credit Arndt with developing the foundations of Pietism, they frequently characterize Phillip Jakob Spener (1635-1705) as the first Pietist theologian. His *Pia Desideria* (1675) and *Allgemeine Gottesgelehrtheit* (1680), both published in Frankfurt, advocated reforming the Orthodox Lutheran views of "...authority, salvation, good works and discipleship."<sup>275</sup> In 1670, Spener took Arndt's ideas of individual responsibility and created *collegia pietatis* in Frankfurt. These "pious groups" were gatherings of those who wanted to achieve a "...more effective Christian living" through Arndt's ideas as well as through the "exercise of a lay spiritual priesthood."<sup>276</sup> This differed somewhat from Arndt's ideas of an individual's responsibility to find the "kingdom of God", since Spener's use of groups to achieve the same had the effect of replacing the church service.

Early Pietists found a musical expression of their mission through the composition and arrangement of chorales. Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676), a Lutheran pastor in Mittenwalde (a small town near Berlin), modified Arndt's texts over a number of years

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> K. Stein, "Phillip Jakob Spener (1635-1705)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 86.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., 84-85.

and is regarded as Pietism's first hymn writer.<sup>277</sup> Fifteen of Gerhardt's original chorale texts were put to music by his close friend and colleague at the Berlin *Nikolaikirche*, kantor Johannes Crüger (1598-1662), in his *Praxis pietatis melica* (Berlin, 1647).<sup>278</sup> Crüger used the monophonic melodies from the *Praxis* and arranged them in four voices with two instrumental parts in his *Geistliche Kirchen-Melodeien*.<sup>279</sup> In 1658, he published the *Psalmodia sacra*, an arrangement of the Lobwasser psalter for four-voice chorus, three instrumental parts and continuo.<sup>280</sup>

With the presence of Gerhardt and Crüger, Berlin became the seat of Pietist musical activity. Esaias Reusner, working in that same city in his role as the chamber lutenist of the Elector of Brandenburg, was likely aware of emerging Pietist thought and of the music developing around the movement. For example, Reusner's 1678 collection contained some Gerhardt chorales, though Reusner did not use Crüger's harmonizations.<sup>281</sup>

#### IV. Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder

Esaias Reusner junior's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* was self-published in 1678, two years after his *Neue Lauten-Fruchte*.<sup>282</sup> The untexted, 25-page collection contains 100 intabulations of Lutheran chorales in quarto format, though 151 titles appear in the *register*. The title page includes a number of features unique to the sacred lute repertoire:

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<sup>277</sup> Christian Bunners, "Paul Gerhardt (1607-1676)," in *The Pietist Theologians*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Malden, Ma.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 73.

<sup>278</sup> George Buelow, Crüger, Johannes *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [May 17 2007]).

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> The implication of Reusner setting Gerhardt's chorales is discussed both below and in Chapter 5.

*Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder welch auf die fest und andere Tage so wol in der Christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden: Gott allein zu ehren, mit fleis, nach itziger Manier, in die Laute gesetzt, und auf instendiges Anhalten einiger Liebhaber zum kupfer befodert, und verlegt von Esaia Reusnern Chur Fürstl [Churfürstlichen]: Brandenb: Cammer Lautenisten*

First, Reusner identifies the collection as “100 spiritual melodies of evangelical songs,” his intended audience as “the Christian community,” and that the collection can be used as accompaniment to voice.<sup>283</sup> His introduction is explicit:

*Sondern für allen Dingen dem höchsten Gott zu Ehren und denen Leibhabern der Evangelischen Lieder gute Gedancken zu erwecken weil sie dabey mit lebendiger Stimme können gesungen werden;*

But rather, for all things to honor the highest God and to awaken good thoughts in the Amateurs of Evangelical songs because they (the songs) can be sung thereto with cheerful voice.

Reusner’s use of the term “Geistliche Melodien,” (spiritual melodies) not the more common “Geistliche Lieder” (spiritual songs) signals a conceptual change he newly introduced to the sacred lute repertoire. He seems to assert that the melodies themselves are considered spiritual, even in the absence of text. This is an excellent example of the concept of *genus*, mentioned in Chapter three. Reusner seems to assume that the consumer of the publication would have known the *genus* of the melody – that is, the spiritual text *associated* with the music transformed the melodies into mechanisms of

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<sup>283</sup> “Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder welche auf die fest und andere Tage so wol in der Christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden.” Reusner did not use the verb “gespeilt” but “gesungen.” Thus, his intention that the collection could be “sung”, not simply performed, is explicit. Note that this collection is an excellent example of how a lutenist envisioned chorales as contrafacta. In this case, Reusner separates the melody from the text, which can then be used to create a new chorale. This can be seen in the register as 150 chorales are listed using 100 chorale melodies,

spiritual edification. Indicating that the collection is arranged in the “common manner” (*nach itziger Manier*) specifies a lute in Baroque tuning arranged with the stylistic elements common to the instrument at the time.<sup>284</sup> Lastly, Reusner identifies the intended audience – enthusiasts or amateurs (*Liebhaber*) and the collection’s purpose to diligently praise God (*Gott allein zu ehren, mit fleis*).

In the context of the German lute book tradition, Reusner establishes a number of new conventions. Many lute books from the previous century were explicitly pedagogical publications, arranging two- and three-part vocal works from across the continent. Nuremberg lutenists Hans Gerle (c.1500-1570) and Hans Neusidler (c.1508-1563) were prolific publishers of such texts.<sup>285</sup> Reusner’s collection is unique in making claim to both pedagogical and spiritual value; while the arrangements do not appear to exhibit the complexity associated with intabulations ostensibly designed for professionals, the implication appears to be that the intended audience possessed at least an intermediate skill level on the instrument.<sup>286</sup> The almost complete lack of explanation in the

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<sup>284</sup> The last German publication using the “old” Renaissance tuning was his father’s publication in 1645. By the time of the younger Reusner’s print, the French lute style developed and made popular by the Gaultiers had completely taken over lute composition. For a recent study on the French style as examined through manuscript, see George Torres, “Seventeenth-century pieces de luth: An examination of the manuscript anthology tradition with a special emphasis on the Barbe manuscript” (Dissertation, Cornell University, 1998).

<sup>285</sup> Lute books originating from Germany were exclusively pedagogical. For example, see Benedikt Drusnia, *TABULATURA CONTINENS INSIGNES ET SELECTISSIMAS QUADASDAM FANTASIAS* (Frankfurt: Johannes Eichorn, 1556); Bernhart Jobin, *Das Erst Büch* (Strasbourg: Bernhardt Jobin, 1573); Melchior Neusidler, *Teutsch Lautenbuch* (Strasbourg: Bernhardt Jobin, 1574); Ochsenkun, *Tabulaturbuch auff die Lauten von Motetten, frantzösischen, welschen und teutschen geystlichen und weltlichen Liedern*, Johann Rude, *Flores musicae* (1600); Rudolf Wyssenbach, *Tabulaturbüch uff dei Lutten, von mancherly Lieplicher Italianischer Dantzliedern mit sampt dem Vogelgsang und einer Fäldschlact* (Zurich: Rüdolf Wyssenbach, 1550).

<sup>286</sup> He makes mention in the introduction that instructions for playing the lute could be found in his previous publication: *Wegen der Application kan ein jeder bey meinem Lautenwerke welche ich Anno 1676, heraußgegeben Neue Lauten Fruchte genannt den Unterricht finden*. Concerning the Application, anyone can find the lessons in my lute-work, which in 1676 I brought out under the name *Neue Lauten Fruchte*. Reusner, *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder, welche auf die Fest- und andere Tage, so wol in der christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden*.



introduction concerning the print's mensuration lends some support to this possibility.<sup>287</sup>

The judicious use of ornamentation symbols typical in a lute print of this period and Reusner's admission (again in the introduction) that he "set" (*gestzet*) the arrangements "rather easily" (*gantzleicht*) provides some additional support to this possibility.

*Derhalben ich sie auch gantzleicht so viel mir möglich doch nach itziger  
Manner und gewöhnlichein Lauten Tact gestzet mich auch andere  
Stimmen der Baß nicht gebunden;*

Therefore I set them easily (to be easy to perform) as much as possible  
although in the current fashion (manner) and in the usual Lute style and I  
did not tie any other voices to the Bass;

He restates how he arranged (in the context of ornamentation) again in the introduction using the term *kunst* – referring to the "art" of lute playing. In Reusner's case, the "itziger Manner" to which he refers appears to be the French *style brisé*, which was the predominant style used by German lutenists by 1678.

Diese geistliche Melodeyen habe auff Anhalten etlicher Favoriten der Lauten  
auch sonderlich der geistlichen Lieder auff die Laute setzen und heraus geben  
wollen nicht etwas dadurch einige kunst zu praesentiren welches auch fur  
diesesmal gar nicht mein Zweck ist;

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<sup>287</sup> "Auch dabey die Mesur halbiret welchen der Laute ma(c)ht viel gantze und halbe Tact üblich damit man nach gewöhnlicher Tabulatur..." Also, at the same time, the beat (is) halved, which the lute makes whole and half measure (as is) customary for common (lute) tablature... Sixteenth century lute books originating from German speaking areas tend to include exhaustive explanation's of mensuration symbols, basic lute technique and the tablature employed in the print. See, for example, Hans Gerle, *Musica Teusch* (Nuremberg: Jeronimum Formschneyder, 1532), Hans Neusidler, *Das Ander Buch* (Nuremberg: Hans Günther, 1544), Hans Neusidler, *Das Erst Buch. Ein Newes Lautenbüchlein mit vil seinen lieblichen Lieder, für die jungen Schuler* (Nuremberg: Hans Günther, 1544), Hans Neusidler, *Ein Newgeordent Künstlich Lautenbuch* (Nuremberg: Johan Petreio, 1536).

Several of these spiritual melodies (and particularly spiritual songs) set for the lute have [been] long-standing favorites. At this time, it is not my purpose to present an art (through this publication/these arrangements).

Perhaps the most unusual aspect of Reusner's publication appears at the beginning of the print's introduction where he introduces the arrangements as "spiritual Arias."<sup>288</sup> Again, Reusner is the first lutenist to consider the Protestant repertoire in such a manner, but is unclear what he meant by appropriating a secular term to describe the collection. By using the term "aria," he appears to link *geistliche lied* with either a secular vocal genre and compositional style (arias appearing in opera) or linking the term with the original Italian meaning – singable melody. It seems unlikely that Reusner is associating the collection with operatic arias as the chorale melodies appear largely unornamented and not in an operatic style. With his previous employment as a continuo player at the Leipzig *Thomaskirche*, it may be tempting to suggest that Reusner became aware of sacred "arias" through the chorale cantata literature. However, it appears that chorale cantatas were not being performed at the *Thomaskirche* during Reusner's employment there in 1673.<sup>289</sup>

## V. Musical Analysis

Example 4.1, *Es sprich der unweisen Mund wohl* is typical of the younger Reusner's approach to chorale arrangement.<sup>290</sup> The chorale melody (Zahn 4436) appears strictly in the soprano with harmonization in the tenor and bass voices. When compared

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<sup>288</sup> "An die Liebhaber der geistlichen Arien." Reusner, *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder, welche auf die Fest- und andere Tage, so wol in der christlichen Gemeine, als auch daheim gesungen werden*, preface.

<sup>289</sup> Choral cantatas were not performed at the *Thomaskirche* until 1677. George Stauffer, Leipzig *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed [April 24 2007]).

<sup>290</sup> The text is Martin Luther's paraphrase of psalm 14.

to the chorale melody, Reusner deviates from a strict interpretation in measures six and seven, only to return to the melody (offset by four beats) in measure nine.<sup>291</sup> There is little deviation from the chorale melody (passing tones, idiomatic passages, etc.) as he presents it clearly and unornamented. Reusner's rhythmic treatment is typical of the French style – dotted rhythms, specifically. In measures two, four, eleven and twelve, he replaces pairs of quarter notes with dotted-quarter/eighth configurations. Measure nine contains syncopation in the stepwise melody on beat two. A similar event occurs in measure eleven, except in this case; Reusner inserts a syncopated passing tone.

Lute intabulations commonly drop and add voices. Though this three-voice arrangement is somewhat unusual in holding to all three voices for most of the arrangement, it drops to two voices in measures seven and eight and increases to four in the both measure eight and thirteen. Typically, this is due to idiomatic concerns. For example, in these latter measures, Reusner simply fills out the final chord in four parts.

Reusner's harmonic treatment of the chorale is stark and features 4-3 diatonic suspensions at cadence points. (measures four, five, seven, eleven and thirteen). Note, however, that two dissonant 4-3 suspensions occur at measures seven and ten. In measure ten, the dissonant suspension is approached stepwise in the bass, resulting in a tritone between the bass and alto voices (Bb/E) resolving to a 6/3 chord on Bb before resolving to an open C chord. Measure seven provides an example of a chain suspension. This occurs in beats two, three and four where a 6/3 chord on Bb changes to a 6-5 suspension, followed by a 4-3 suspension on beat three (C major) and a final 4-3 suspension (G major) on beat four before the phrase resolves to C major. This series starts on a

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<sup>291</sup> This accounts for the two-measure discrepancy in the example. Lutenists tend to be free in setting vocal models. Small discrepancies such as this are common in lute intabulations.

dissonance (B/F) and is immediately resolved through the series. Reusner's use of this chain suspension is not a strict compositional choice - it is an example of *style brisé* typical to the French lute style used by German lutenists of the last half of the century.

The use of *style brisé* (broken style) was a staple in the secular lute repertoire of the seventeenth century. First described in Anthoine Francisque's *Le tresor d'Orphée* (Paris, 1600) as a method to provide harmonic unpredictability and musical subtlety, *style brisé* became a pillar in a new lute style as the instrument was undergoing a three-decade-long evolution in construction, timbre and range at the hands of French lutenists.<sup>292</sup>

Commonly understood as a method to arpeggiate chords utilized primarily by seventeenth-century harpsichordists and borrowed from the French lute school, *style brisé* has compositional implications. In example 4.1, Reusner is "breaking" a two-voice chord between the bass and soprano voices equally over one beat. With the bass voice sounding first and the soprano sounding a half-beat later, the melody is rhythmically offset. This accounts for his treatment of the melody discussed above. Yet the *style brisé* has an additional consequence – it is a convenient way to create chain suspensions through the use of correct left hand technique. Since lutes cannot sustain significant volume, the lutenist must hold each finger on the fretboard after a string is plucked until the intabulation requires the movement of that finger. Thus, in a two-voice intabulation, one can alternate notes in a series of chords and create not only chain suspensions and arpeggiated chords, but also introduce dissonances and chord sequences that are idiomatic to the instrument by simply depressing and alternating a single finger until that note no longer sounds. The preceding discussion is particularly relevant when

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<sup>292</sup> Ledbetter, *Style brisé*.

considering the lute chorale repertoire over time. Reusner reflects, in many ways, how lutenists from the previous century intabulated these sacred works. Like Hans Gerle, Hans Neusidler and others, Reusner is taking advantage of a secular style of lute arrangement. Instead of idiomatic divisions and running passages (common modes of embellishment in the sixteenth century), Reusner applies the *compositional* and *stylistic* embellishments of the period – *stilé brise* and chain suspensions. However, these elements are muted when compared to his secular works as they were to Gerle and Neusidler.

## VI. Reusner and the Lobwasser Psalter

Reusner's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* is a collection of chorales with seemingly little relationship to the Lobwasser Psalter.<sup>293</sup> However, Reusner links the collection with the Psalter: the first indication of a connection appears in the introduction:

*...ich ferner werde veranlasset werden die Arien der Psalmen Davids von ambrosic Lobwasser übersetzt gleich ergestalt in die Laute zu setzen und künstlig gönnet Gott Leben herauszugeben als worunter auch gar seine Melodeyen die nicht minder auff der Lauten lieblich zu hören seyn werden.*

Further, I have been asked “will it be possible to set the melodies of the Lobwasser Psalms translated for the lute, artfully, and God willing, published, as below (referring to the lightly ornamented pieces in this publication) since also those melodies, no less [than the ones here], would be lovely to hear on the lute.”

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<sup>293</sup> Chapter two discusses the Lobwasser psalter in the context of the lute repertoire.

As mentioned in Chapter two, there was a distinction between “Psalms of David” and “*geistliche lieder*,” “Psalms of David” referred to settings of the entire 150 psalm texts (in this case, Lobwasser’s translation of the Geneva psalter) and *geistliche lieder* refers to chorales, or paraphrases of psalm texts not appearing as a collection of all 150 psalms. As Reusner clearly states, this collection is an arrangement of *lieder* (chorales), not “Psalms of David.” This passage suggests that he intended to produce an arrangement of the Lobwasser psalter that is either not extant or was interrupted by his death.

Another connection to Lobwasser’s psalter appears in the music. Of the 100 intabulations appearing in the collection, most appear in printed versions of the Lobwasser psalter as *geistliche Lieder* inserted as additions to the psalter proper.<sup>294</sup> Many seventeenth-century German editions of the Lobwasser psalter produced with civic oversight were produced with distinct sections: The 150 psalm translations and melodies, well-known chorales and other praise songs (most were older compositions by Luther), *kirchenordnung*, catechisms and other edification material. This may have been an attempt on the part of civic and Lutheran church leaders to expunge any hint of Lobwasser’s perceived crypto-Calvinism by including hymns authored at the beginning of the Reformation movement.

## VII. Reusner’s Confessional Orientation

Reusner was employed by a Calvinist court, in a duchy that promoted religious tolerance and in an era and area that nurtured the beginnings of Pietism. That he understood the rich religious context of the Brandenburg court seems reasonable for a

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<sup>294</sup> For example, see Ambroius Lobwasser, *Das Düsseldorfer Gesangbuch von 1612*, Facsimile ed. (Köln: Rheinland-Verlag, 1983).

court employee whose entire life (save a year in Leipzig) was spent in some aspect of courtly life. Whether Reusner's personal religious leanings were Pietist, Orthodox Lutheran or Calvinist, his use of the Lobwasser psalter seems both expected and surprising. With the Elector's strict Calvinist orientation, one could make the case that Reusner's use of the Lobwasser psalter might have been a political concession given his position as the Elector's *Cammer Lautenisten*.

With these possible political considerations, it comes as no surprise that out of the 150 psalm melodies Lobwasser borrowed from the Geneva psalter, Reusner set only one, *Wie nach einer Wasserquelle*. (Example 4.2). Contrastingly, he set 24 chorales by Luther and 12 chorales authored by Paul Gerhardt. This may suggest that Reusner had little Calvinist leanings given his use of Gerhardt's work. However, suggesting that Reusner was either Pietist or Orthodox Lutheran based purely on the contents of his *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* is problematic as Crüger had little issue with setting Lobwasser's Psalter in his *Psalmodia sacra*. Yet when comparing Reusner's treatment of examples 4.1 and 4.2, Reusner clearly sets the melody of *Es sprich der unweisen Mund wohl* (a chorale authored by Martin Luther), strictly as compared to *Wie nach einer Wasserquelle* (his only Lobwasser melody), where he takes compositional liberties far beyond French stylistic practice. Being as free as Reusner is with the Genevan melody would not be unusual for a lutenist, though when compared to his setting of Luther's chorale, it may suggest a certain disregard of Lobwasser's effort in contrast to interpreting *Es sprich der unweisen Mund wohl* with such care. Of course, Reusner could have been modeling the melody from a non-extant or non-Lobwasser source, but his mention in the introduction concerning the future "exact" setting of

Lobwasser's melodies seems to contradict how he actually set *Wie nach einer Wasserquelle* in 1678.<sup>295</sup>

## VIII. Chapter Conclusion

Reusner's publication is a landmark in the lute repertoire. Instead of breaking away from his sixteenth-century counterparts, his *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* represents a continuation of a tradition despite a significant development in the instrument and compositional practices. This collection should not be viewed as a capstone in the history of chorale intabulation for lute, but rather a reflection of musical pragmatism and arguably, conservatism.

The commonalities between the younger Reusner's approach to chorale arrangements and that of his predecessors are significant. Arguably the most crucial is preserving the clarity of the chorale melody, as there is a distinct effort to embellish other voice parts. With Reusner's use of *style brisé* the chorale melody can be rhythmically offset – not an embellishment *per se*, but an aspect of musical arrangement that modifies the melody nonetheless. His care in setting the chorale melody as literally as possible helps to offset the rhythmic consequences of his use of the broken style. Further, Reusner embraces the secular lute style of the period, in a way similar to sixteenth-century practice. This collection also demonstrates that baroque lute intabulation practices are more concerned with harmonic (vertical – broken style, chain suspension) instead of melodic (horizontal – running passages and divisions) embellishment.

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<sup>295</sup> "...übersetzt gleich ergestalt in die Laute zu setzen..." Reusner, *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder, welche auf die Fest- und andere Tage, so wol in der christlichen Gemeinde, als auch daheim gesungen werden*, preface.



Reusner continued the tradition of German produced lute prints. Though this is not a pedagogical print in the sixteenth-century sense, the lack of identifying the intended audience is similar to other sixteenth-century lutenists such as Drusnia and Jobin. Likewise, the lack of text or vocal notation continues this tradition. Certainly, consumers of the publication would have a better idea of what text could have been sung to the intabulation. Regardless of what Reusner intended, however, the text simply does not appear - continuing another German traditions.

Elias Reusner *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* is a significant publication in the context of a continuing tradition of polyphonic chorale arrangements for lute. Its significance, however, is stylistic – its uniqueness derives from the construction of the intended instrument (tuning, size, sonority) and the codified stylistic elements of Baroque lute practice.

# Es spricht der unweisen Mund wol

Esias Reusner

*Ein Hundert Geistliche Melodian Lieder*

1678

Chorale Melody

Lute

Chorale

Lute

Chorale

Lute

Example 4.1

Chorale

Lute

This musical score consists of two staves. The top staff, labeled 'Chorale', is in treble clef and contains measures 109 through 112. The bottom staff, labeled 'Lute', is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and also contains measures 109 through 112. Measure 109 shows the Chorale with a half note G4 and a half note A4, while the Lute has a half note G3 and a half note A3. Measure 110 shows the Chorale with a half note B4 and a half note C5, while the Lute has a half note G3 and a half note A3. Measure 111 shows the Chorale with a half note D5 and a half note E5, while the Lute has a half note G3 and a half note A3. Measure 112 shows the Chorale with a half note F5 and a half note G5, while the Lute has a half note G3 and a half note A3. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 112.

# Wie nach einem Wasserquelle

Esias Reusner

*Ein Hundert Geistliche Melodien Lieder*

1678

Chorale Melody  
Zahn 6543\*  
Pidoux 42

Lute

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a single staff for the Chorale Melody and a Lute part. The Lute part is written in a 3/4 time signature, indicated by the '3' over the '4' in the time signature. The first system includes the title 'Wie nach einem Wasserquelle' and the source information 'Esias Reusner', 'Ein Hundert Geistliche Melodien Lieder', and '1678'. The second system shows the continuation of the melody and lute accompaniment. The third system shows the final measures of the piece.

\* The original melody appears in common time according to both Zahn and Pidoux.

Example 4.2

Chorale

16

Lute

16

8

16

This system contains measures 16 through 20. The Chorale part is on a single staff in treble clef. The Lute part consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. Measure numbers 16, 16, and 8 are indicated at the start of the respective staves. The music features a mix of half notes, quarter notes, and eighth notes, with some phrasing slurs in the Chorale and Lute treble staves.

Chorale

21

Lute

21

8

21

This system contains measures 21 through 25. The Chorale part is on a single staff in treble clef. The Lute part consists of two staves, treble and bass clef. Measure numbers 21, 21, and 8 are indicated at the start of the respective staves. The music continues with similar notation to the previous system, ending with a double bar line in the final measure.

**Table 4.1 Table of Contents: Esaias Reusner - *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (1678)**

<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Gerhardt Chorale</b>	<b>Luther Chorale</b>
1) Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen	99		
2) Ach Gott und Herr wie groß	58		
3) Ach Gott vom himel sieh darein	76		√
4) Ach Herr behüte meine Seel	93		
5) Allein Gott in der höhsen Ehr	47		
6) Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	57		
7) Alls Jesus Christus Gottes Sohn	46		
8) An Wasserflüssen Babylon	87		
9) Auf meinen lieben Gott Trau ich	86		
10) Aus mienes herzengrunde	1		
11) Aus tieffer noch schren ich zu dir	59		√
12) Christ der du bist der helle tag	9		
13) Christe der du bist tag und L.	11		
14) Christ fuhr gen himmel	43		
15) Christ lag in todesbaden	37		√
16) Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam	54		√
17) Christus der uns selig macht	3		
18) Christus ist erstanden	42		√
19) Du der Herr ist zu tische saß	35		
20) Da Jesus an dein greuze	31		
21) Danket dem herren denn er ist sehr	14		
22) Das walt Gott vater und Gott sohn	5 & 9		
23) Das walt mein Gott, Gott vater	4		
24) Den vater dort oben wollen wir	13		
25) Der Herr hat alles maã gemacht	26		
26) Der Tag der ist so freudenreich	27		
27) Die helle Sohn leucht ißt her für	21		
28) Die morgenröthe gebet auf	93		
29) Die nacht ist hin der tag bricht an	81		
30) Die nacht ist kommen	12		
31) Die Nachtwach in vergangen ist	93		
32) Die Sonne wird mit ihren schein	9		
33) Die Sonn hat sich verkrochen	67		
34) Dir Herr wil ich lobsingen	1		
35) Diß sind die heilgen zehn Gebot	51		√
36) Du bist ein Mensch das weist du	26	√	
37) Du friedenfürst Herr Jesu Christ	79		
38) Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt	61		
39) Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem	23		
40) Ein läinlein geht und trägt die	87		
41) Ein feste burg ist unser Gott	73		√
42) Erhalt uns Herr von deinem wort	56		√
43) Ermuntre dich hertz muth und Sinn	8		
44) Ermuntze dich mein schwacher Geist	26		
45) Erscheinen ist der hertzlich tag	40		
46) Es ist das henluns kommen her	62		
47) Es ist getutßlich an der zeit	100		
48) Es spricht der unweisen mund wol	64		√
49) Es woll uns Gott genädig senn	78		√
50) Es stehn für Gottes throne	50		

<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Gerhardt Chorale</b>	<b>Luther Chorale</b>
51) Freu dich sehr o meine seele	80 & 88		
52) Für Freuden läßt uns springen	25		
53) Geliebten freund wie thut ihr so	95		
54) Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ	20		√
55) Gleich wol hab ich überwunden	88		
56) Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	48		√
57) Gott hat das Evangelium	98		
58) Gott Vater in dem himmelreich	58		
59) Gott Vater ursprung quell und	87		
60) Grosser Gott ach meine sünden	88		
61) Helsst mir Gottes güte preisen	29		
62) Herr Christ der einig Gottes	63		
63) Herr Gott dich loben alle wir	49		√
64) Herr Gott nu sen gepreiset	63		
65) Herr Jesu Christ wahr mensch und	90		
66) Hertzlich leib hab ich dich	94		
67) Hertzlich thut mich verlangen	92		
68) Hertzliebster Jesu du hast außgesp	34		
69) Hertzliebster Jesu was hast du	34		
70) Heut triumphiret Gottes sohn	38		
71) Iacht Gott mit hertzen freud	28		
72) Ich dank dir Gott für alle	6		
73) Ich dank dir Gott in deinem thron	3		
74) Ich dank dir Gott von herzen	67		
75) Ich dank dir lieber Herre	2		√
76) Ich dank dir schon durch deinen	3		
77) Ich danke dir liebereicher Gott	57		
78) Ich danke dir o Gott in deinen	7		
79) Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt	91		
80) Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jesus Christ	70		
81) Jesu miene freude	85		
82) Jesu meine liebe	85		
83) Jesus Christus unser heyland	39		√
84) Jesus Christus unser heyland	59		√
85) In dich hab ich gehoffet herr	83 & 84		
86) In deiser morgen stund wil ich dich	34		
87) In dulci Jubilo / Nu singet und	28		
88) Ist Gott für mich so trete	67 & 92		
89) Ißt leuchtet schon vom himelst	58		
90) Kom heiliger Geist Herr	44		√
91) Kommt her zu mir sprict	72		
92) Lasset uns den herreh preisen	41		
93) Laßt furcht und dein weit von	24		
94) Lobet den herren alle die	16	√	
95) Lobet den herren den er ist sehr	16		
96) Lobet den herrn und dankz ihm	95		
97) Lobet Gott unsern herren in seinem	67		
98) Mien Gott und herr die sinstre	81		
99) Mein seel nu lob den herren	2		
100) Menschen find merk eben	17		
101) Mit freuden wil ich singen	66		
102) Nun bitten wir den heilegen geist	45		√
103) Nu danket alle Gott mit hertze	68		
104) Nu die sonne geht zu schatten	10		
105) Nu freut euch hier und uber all	65		

<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Gerhardt Chorale</b>	<b>Luther Chorale</b>
106) Nu freut euch lieben Christn	65 & 100	√	√
107) Nu ist die übermühde nacht	77		
108) Nu ist vollbracht auch deiser tag	21		
109) Nu komm der heyden heyland	18		√
110) Nu laßt uns den lieb begraben	97		√
111) Nu laßt uns Gott dem herren	15		
112) Nu lob mein Seel den herren	66		
113) Nu preiset alle	69		
114) Nu ruhen alle Wälder	96	√	
115) O Gott ich thu dir danken	29		
116) O heilige drensaltigkeit	5		
117) O Jesu Christ miens lebens licht	93		
118) O lamm Gottes unschuldig	33		
119) O Mensch betvein dien dein Sünde groß	32	√	
120) O mensch der du die sicher lebt	9		
121) O traurigkeit! O herzelied!	36		
122) O welt ich müß dich lassen	96		
123) O welt sieh hier dein leben	96	√	
124) Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit	65	√	
125) Singen wir aus herzen grund	17		
126) Singt mit mir ein liedlein	17		
127) Treuer Gott ich muß dir klagen	8		
128) Vater unser in himmelreich	53		
129) Uns ist ein kindlein heut geboren	22		
130) Vom himmel hoch da kom ich her	21		√
131) Vom himmel kam der Engel	21		√
132) Wach auf mein herz und singe	15	√	
133) Wann ich in angst und noth	8		
134) Wen mein stündlein fürhanden ist	89		
135) Wann wir in höchsten nöthen sehn	81		
136) Wår Gott nicht mit uns deise zeit	75		√
137) Warümb betrübst du dich mein	82		
138) Was mein Gott wil das gscheh	71		
139) Was sol ich doch o Eprham	87	√	
140) Weg mein herz mit den gedanken	8	√	
141) Werde munter mein gemüthe	10		
142) Wer unterm schirm des höchsten	87	√	
143) Wie nach einer wasserquelle	80		
144) Wie schöne leucht der Morgenst	77		
145) Wie schön leuch uns der M.	77		
146) Wir Christenleut habn iß und freud	24		
147) Wir gläuben all an einem Gott	52		
148) Wo Gott der herr nicht bez uns	74		
149) Wo dem menchen der nicht	88	√	
150) Zion klagt mit angst und	88		
151) Zu dir aus herzengrunde	60		



<b>Incipit</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Number in Register</b>
1) Aus meines hertzen grund	1	1
2) Ich dank dier lieber Herr	1	2
3) Ich dank dier schon durch der sohn	1	3
4) Das walt mein Gott	1	4
5) Das walt Gott vater und Gott Sohn	1	5 & 9
6) Ich dank dier Gott vor alle wohl	2	6
7) Ich danke dier o Gottin diennem Throne	2	7
8) Wann ich in Angst und Noth	2	8
9) Christ der du bist der helle Tag	2	9
10) Werde munter mein gemühte	3	10
11) Christ der du bist Tag und Licht	3	11
12) Die Nacht ist kommen	3	12
13) Den Vater dort oben	3	13
14) Danket dem Herren	3	14
15) Nun last uns Gott dem Herren	3	15
16) Lobet den Herren	4	16
17) Singen wie raus Hertzen grundt	4	17
18) Nun komm der heyden Heyland	4	18
19) Menschen kindt merk eben	4	17
20) Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ	5	20
21) Von Himmel Hoch da komm ich her	5	21
22) Uns ist ein kindlein heut geboren	5	22
23) Ein Kind gebohr zu Betleherr	5	23
24) Wier Christen leuth	5	24
25) Vor Fremden last uns springen	5	25
26) Ermuntre dich mein schoachen Geist	6	26
27) Der Tag der ist so frerodenreich	6	27
28) In dulci jubilo	6	28
29) Helfft mier Gotts gütte preisen	6	29
30) Christus dem uns selig macht	7	30
31) Da Jesus an dem Creutz stundt	7	31
32) O mensch betvein dein Sünde gross	7	32
33) O Lamb Gottes unschuldig	7	33
34) Herzliebster Jesu	8	34
35) Da der Herr Christ Du Tische saß	8	35
36) O Traurigkeit	8	36
37) Christ lag in Todesbanden	8	37
38) Heut triumphiret Gottes Sohn	8	38
39) Jesus Christus unser Heyland	9	39
40) Erschienen ist der Hertzliche Tag	9	40
41) Laßet uns den Herren preisen	9	41
42) Christ ist erstanded	9	42
43) Christ fuhr gen Himmel	9	43
44) Kommen heiliger Geist Herren	10	44
45) Nun bitten wier den Heyligen Geist	10	45
46) Als Jesus Christus Gottes Sohn	10	46
47) Allein Gott in der hoh sei ehr	10	47
48) Gott der Vater wohn uns bey	11	48
49) Herr Gott dich loben allw wier	11	49
50) Es stehn vor Gottes Throne	11	50
51) Dis Sind die heilgen zehn geboht	11	51
52) Wir glauben all an einen Gott	12	52
53) Vater unser in Himmelreich	12	53
54) Christ unser Herz zum Jordan kam	12	54
55) Jesus Christus unser Heilandt	12	39 & 59

56) Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott	13	Not Listed in Register
57) Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	13	57
58) Ach Gott und Herr	13	58
59) Aus teifer noth schrei ich zu Dier	13	59
60) Zu dir von Hertzen grunde	13	60 - Scordatura
61) Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt	14	61
62) Es ist das Heil uns komen her	14	62
63) Herr Christ der einige Gottes Sohn	14	63
64) Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl	14	64
65) Nun fremt euch leiben Christen gemein	14	65 & 100
66) Nun lob meine Seele den Herren	15	66
67) Lobet Gott unser Herr	15	67
68) Nun dancket alle Gott	15	68
69) Nun preiset alle	15	69
70) Ich ruff zu dier Her Jesu Christ	16	70
71) Was mein Gott viel das gescheh all zeit	16	71
72) Kombt her zu mier spricht Gottes Sohn	16	72
73) Ein feste burg ist unser Gott	16	73
74) Wo Gott der Herr nicht bey uns halt	16	74
75) War Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit	17	75
76) Ach Gott vom Himmel sieh darein	17	76
77) Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern	17	77
78) Es wolt uns Gott genadig sein	17	78
79) Du frieden furst Herr Jesu Christ	17	79
80) Wie nach einer Wasserquelle	18	80
81) Wann wier in höchsten nohten sein	18	81
82) Warum betrübst dich mein Hertz	18	82
83) In Dich hab ich gehoffet Herr	18	83 & 84
84) Dieses vorhergehen (XX noch auf XXXX andere Melodie)	18	Not in register
85) Jesu meine freunde	18	85
86) Auf meinen lieben Gott	19	86
87) An Waßerflüssen Babylon	19	87
88) Von klagt mit angst und schmerzen	19	88
89) Wenn mein Stündlein verhenden ist	19	89
90) Herr Jesuu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott	19	90
91) Ich hab mein sach Gott heimgestellt	20	91
92) Hertzlich thut mich verlangen	20	92
93) O Jesu Christ mein lebens licht	20	93
94) Hertzlich lieb hab ich dich O Herr	20	94
95) Geliebten freund was thut ihr so verzagen	20	95
96) O Welt ich mus dch lassen	21	96
97) Nun last uns den leib begraben	21	97
98) Gott hat das Evangelium	21	98
99) Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen	21	99
100) Es ist geweislich as der zeit	21	100

<b>Melody Number</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page</b>
1	Aus mienes herzengrunde	01
	Dir Herr wil ich lobsingen	01
2	Ich dank dir lieber Herre	02
	Mein seel nu lob den herren	02
3	Ich dank dir schon durch deinen	03
	Ich dank dir Gott in deinem thron	03
4	Das walt mein Gott, Gott vater	04
5	Das walt Gott vater und Gott sohn	05
	O heilige drensaltigkeit	05
6	Ich dank dir Gott für alle	06
7	Ich danke dir o Gott in deinen	07
8	Ermuntre dich hertz muth und Sinn	08
	Treuer Gott ich muß dir klagen	08
	Weg mein herz mit den gedanken	08
	Wann ich in angst und noth	08
9	Christ der du bist der helle tag	09
	Das walt Gott vater und Gott sohn	09
	Die Sonne wird mit ihren schein	09
	O mensch der du die sicher lebt	09
10	Werde munter mein gemüthe	10
	Nu die sonne geht zu schatten	10
11	Christe der du bist tag und L.	11
12	Die nacht ist kommen	12
13	Den vater dort oben wollen wir	13
14	Danket dem herren denn er ist sehr	14
15	Nu laßt uns Gott dem herren	15
	Wach auf mein herz und singe	15
16	Lobet den herren alle die	16
	Lobet den herren den er ist sehr	16
17	Singen wir aus herzen grund	17
	Singt mit mir ein liedlein	17
18	Nu komm der heyden heyland	18
19	Menschen find merk eben	17
20	Gelobet seist du Jesu Christ	20
21	Die helle Sohn leucht ißt her für	21
	Nu ist vollbracht auch deiser tag	21
	Vom himmel hoch da kom ich her	21
	Vom himmel kam der Engel	21
22	Uns ist ein kindlein heut geboren	22
23	Ein kind geboren zu Bethleham	23
24	Laßt furcht und dein weit von	24
	Wir Christenleut habn iß und freud	24
25	Für Freuden läßt uns springen	25
26	Der Herr hat alles maä gemacht	26
	Du bist ein Mensch das weist du	26
	Ermuntze dich mein schwacher Geist	26
27	Der Tag der ist so freudenreich	27
28	Iacht Gott mit hertzen freud	28
	In dulci Jubilo / Nu singet und	28
29	Helfft mir Gottes güte preisen	29
	O Gott ich thu dir danken	29
30	Christus der uns selig macht	30
31	Da Jesus an dein greuze	31
32	O Mensch betvein dien dein Sünde groß	32

33	O lamm Gottes unschuldig	33
34	Hertzliebster Jesu du hast außgesp	34
	Hertzliebster Jesu was hast du	34
	In deiser morgen stund wil ich dich	34
35	Du der Herr ist zu tische saß	35
36	O traurigkeit! O herzelied!	36
37	Christ lag in todesbaden	37
38	Heut triumphiret Gottes sohn	38
39	Jesus Christus unser heyland	39
40	Erscheinen ist der hertzlich tag	40
41	Lasset uns den herreh preisen	41
42	Christus ist erstanden	42
43	Christ fuhrgen himmel	43
44	Kom heiliger Geist Herr	44
45	Nun bitten wir den heilegen geist	45
46	Alls Jesus Christus Gottes Sohn	46
47	Allein Gott in der höhsen Ehr	47
48	Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	48
49	Herr Gott dich loben alle wir	49
50	Es stehn für Gottes throne	50
51	Diß sind die heiligen zehn Gebot	51
52	Wir gläuben all an einem Gott	52
53	Vater unser in himmelreich	53
54	Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam	54
55	Jesus Christus unser heyland	55
56	Erhalt uns Herr von deinem wort	56
57	Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ	57
	Ich danke dir liebereicher Gott	57
58	Ach Gott und Herr wie groß	58
	Gott Vater in dem himmelreich	58
	Ißt leuchtet schon vom himelst	58
59	Aus tieffer noch schren ich zu dir	59
60	Zu dir aus herzengrunde	60
61	Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt	61
62	Es ist das henluns kommen her	62
63	Herr Christ der eining Gottes	63
	Herr Gott nu sen gepreiset	63
64	Es sprict der unweisen mund wol	64
65	Nu freut euch hier und uber all	65
	Nu freut euch lieben Christn	65
	Sen fröhlich alles weit und breit	65
66	Mit freuden wil ich singen	66
	Nu lob mein Seel den herren	66
67	Die Sonn hat sich verkrochen	67
	Ich dank dir Gott von herzen	67
	Ist Gott für mich so trete	67
	Lobet Gott unsern herren in seinem	67
68	Nu danket alle Gott mit hertze	68
69	Nu preiset alle	69
70	Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jesus Christ	70
71	Was mein Gott wil das gscheh	71
72	Kommt her zu mir sprict	72
73	Ein feste burg ist unser Gott	73
74	Wo Gott der herr nicht bez uns	74
75	Wär Gott nicht mit uns deise zeit	75
76	Ach Gott vom himel sieh darein	76

77	Nu ist die übermühde nacht	77
	Wie schöne leucht der Morgenst	77
	Wie schön leuch uns der M.	77
78	Es woll uns Gott genädig senn	78
79	Du friedenfürst Herr Jesu Christ	79
80	Freu dich sehr o meine seele	80
	Wie nach einer wasserquelle	80
81	Die nacht ist hin der tag bricht an	81
	Mien Gott und herr die sinstre	81
	Wann wir in höchsten nöthen sehn	81
82	Warümb betrübst du dich mein	82
83	In dich hab ich gehoffet herr	83
84	In dich hab ich gehoffet herr	84
85	Jesu miene freude	85
	Jesu meine liebe	85
86	Auf meinen lieben Gott Trau ich	86
87	An Wasserflüssen Babnlon	87
	Ein läinlein geht und trägt die	87
	Gott Vater ursprung quell und	87
	Was sol ich doch o Eprham	87
	Wer unterm schirm des höchsten	87
88	Freu dich sehr o meine seele	88
	Gleich wol hab ich überwunden	88
	Grosser Gott ach meine sünden	88
	Wo dem menchen der nicht	88
	Zion klagt mit angst und	88
89	Wen mein stündlein fürhanden ist	89
90	Herr Jesu Christ wahr mensch und	90
91	Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt	91
92	Hertzlich thut mich verlangen	92
	Ist Gott für mich so trete	92
93	Ach Herr behüte meine Seel	93
	Die morgenröthe gebet auf	93
	Die Nachtwach in vergangen ist	93
	O Jesu Christ miens lebens licht	93
94	Hertzlich leib hab ich dich	94
95	Geliebten freund wie thut ihr so	95
	Lobet den herrn und dankz ihm	95
96	Nu ruhen alle Wälder	96
	O welt ich müß dich lassen	96
	O welt sieh hier dein leben	96
97	Nu laßt uns den lieb begraben	97
98	Gott hat das Evangelium	98
99	Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen	99
100	Es ist geweißlich an der zeit	100
	Nu freut euch lieben Christn	100

## Chapter 5: Conclusions

A number of factors account for the longevity and popularity of chorale intabulations. With the decline in the popularity of the lute in the seventeenth century, it would follow that print and manuscript repertoire for the instrument would have declined as well. Indeed, the production of lute music declined, but chorale arrangements remained a steadfast (though modest) part of the repertoire after the Thirty Years War. As this study has argued, this is due in part to the popularity of private and domestic piety through *Andacht* literature, which supported music making as a part of private and domestic devotions. Mass and motet intabulations (popular in the sixteenth century) had no place in this prescriptive literature. Instead, psalms and chorales were favored as resources to praise God through music.<sup>296</sup> Helping to fuel the need for chorale arrangements for lute was the Lutheran view of music. Music remained “a gift of God,” and its practice was nurtured and defended by theologians as an aspect of Christian freedom. Calvinists, on the other hand, did not overtly support the use of instruments in private worship. Yet Calvinists’ strong support of psalm singing helped to create a market for translated psalm collections like Lobwasser’s, which inspired lute collections based on his effort. However, the confessional orientation of Lobwasser’s collection is blurred. Though he was a Lutheran pastor, his use of the Geneva melodies allowed charges of crypto-Calvinism to be leveled at his work. As lute intabulations of the Lobwasser Psalter emerged, these prints embodied and exposed a confessional variability never seen in the repertory.

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<sup>296</sup> An in-depth discussion of the context for lute chorale repertoire appeared in Chapter three.

The chorale repertoire for lute developed and flourished contemporaneously with other aspects of Early Modern life; as this study has argued, it could have played a crucial role in the spiritual edification of both the household and the individual. These arrangements, however, occurred in parallel with other developments:

Confessionalization, the emergence of Pietism, the Thirty Years War and its aftermath, dramatic changes in the construction of the instrument, and Italian and French musical innovations. These concurrent events affected the production and transmission of the sacred lute repertoire. Confessionalization, *Andachtliteratur* and early Pietist thought fueled the production of chorale intabulations by developing a market for such arrangements in domestic contexts. Contrastingly, the Thirty Years War, an evolution in the instrument's construction, and musical innovations from abroad attenuated the transmission of the repertory as the lute became a more difficult instrument to use and thus fell out of favor.

The role of music in Lutheran domestic devotion and the function of the lute in these household rites did not change because of the developments mentioned above. Instead, music served to unite households as a common bond that fused different Protestant traditions under the banners of communal worship and edification. This was not accomplished by explicit design as the role of instruments was not directly addressed (whether on the part of lutenists or of theologians) in these contexts. In essence, it was the Lutheran population that capitalized on this ambiguity and appropriated the instrument for purposes of personal and household edification.

Spanning almost 250 years (to 1750 in print), chorale and psalm intabulations assimilated stylistic innovations from abroad. Despite significant changes in the

construction and reception of the instrument, musical style and various theological debates concerning the role of music throughout the period, chorales for lute remained a steadfast part of the repertoire. Intabulators stressed the clarity of the chorale melody by tenaciously holding onto a conservative view of musical elaboration intrinsic to the instrument. This is a unique case in the lute repertoire, since other genres (dance, vocal intabulation, abstract pieces, etc) were subject to either extreme virtuosity or stylization. Thus, lute chorales were a mode of spiritual edification that retained the spiritual *intent* of their vocal models by following the tradition of melodic clarity.

The multiple arrangements of chorales and psalms in the prints of Reymann and Vallet could attract lutenists from both Calvinist and Lutheran orientations. Calvin was quite clear about the spiritual benefits of psalms and the dangers of figural music on the soul of the individual.<sup>297</sup> Thus, he advocated the exclusive use of monophonic psalm singing for public worship, which became an integral part of Calvinist practice. Given Calvin's concern about music becoming an "...abuse" and "...the instrument of lasciviousness," it is no wonder that he only reluctantly tolerated homophonic psalm

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<sup>297</sup> Calvin explains this position in the preface to Goudimel's 1565 "*Les Pseaumes mis en rime françoise par Clément Marot et Théodore de Bèze. Mis en musique a quatre parties par Claude Goudimel.*" What is there now to do? It is to have songs not only honest, but also holy, which will be like spurs to incite us to pray to and praise God, and to meditate upon his works in order to love, fear, honor and glorify him. Moreover, that which St. Augustine has said is true, that no one is able to sing things worthy of God except that which he has received from him. Therefore, when we have looked thoroughly, and searched here and there, we shall not find better songs or more fitting for the purpose, than the Psalms of David, which the Holy Spirit spoke and made through him." Calvin addresses his views specifically by stating "...we ought to be the more careful not to abuse it [music], for fear of soiling and contaminating it, converting it our condemnation, where it was dedicated to our profit and use. If there were no other consideration than this alone, it ought indeed to move us to moderate the use of music, to make it serve all honest things; and that it should no give occasion for our giving free rein to dissolution, or making ourselves effeminate in disordered delights, and that it should not become the instrument of lasciviousness nor of any shamelessness." English translation from Christian Classics Ethereal Library, Preface to the 1543 Geneva Psalter (Accessed [March 2 2007]), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/ccel/eee/files/calvinps.htm>.



settings for household use.<sup>298</sup> Lutheran theologians, however, held a deep and contrasting opinion during the seventeenth century, as Joyce Irwin notes.<sup>299</sup> Quoting Philip Arnoldi in his *Caeremoniae Lutheranae* (1616), Irwin demonstrates the Lutheran contention that figural music should be considered and defended as a part of Christian liberty.<sup>300</sup> This, no doubt, follows Luther's view outlined in the preface of Georg Rhaeus's *Symphoniae iucundae atque adeo breves* (1538):

However, when man's natural musical ability is whetted and polished to the extent that it becomes an art, then do we note with great surprise the great and perfect wisdom of God in music, which is, after all, His product and His gift; we marvel when we hear music in which one voice sings a simple melody, while three, four, or five other voices play and trip lustily around the voice that sings its simple melody and adorn this simple melody wonderfully with artistic musical effects, thus reminding us of a heavenly dance, where all meet in a spirit of friendliness, caress and embrace.<sup>301</sup>

Whether Vallet's and Reymann's Lobwasser-inspired psalm prints were intended for Lutheran or Calvinist (or both) audiences remains unclear. Certainly, these two prints had the potential to appeal to the contrasting musical and spiritual preferences of both confessions.

Lute prints are a seldom-addressed mode of psalm transmission. However, these publications are not simply a barometer of a musical genre's popularity. Rather, they identify and describe a pathway for the diffusion of Protestant musical practice and ideals

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<sup>298</sup> "...it has seemed best that it [the monophonic psalm melodies of the Geneva psalter] be moderated in the manner [homophonic settings] we have adopted to carry the weight and majesty appropriate to the subject..." Ibid. Note that some polyphonic settings of the Geneva psalter are in a figural style. See Goudimel's *Cinquiesme livre contenant 10 pseumes (en forme de motets)*, (1562).

<sup>299</sup> Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart alone: German Theology in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993).

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>301</sup> English translation available from <http://www.eldrbarry.net/mous/saint/luthmusc.htm>.

through the medium of printed instrumental music. Thus, the popularity of the repertory cannot be ascertained by the publication and re-printing of collections that contained lute chorales. Instead, transmission by manuscript may provide a more accurate view of the popularity of lute chorales and psalms in the Early Modern Era.

The appearance of psalm intabulations so early in the history of written lute music (in contrast to organ arrangements) is significant, and implies a performative context for this repertoire.<sup>302</sup> Specifically, Calvinist owners of a more accessible instrument (the lute) may have been likely to use the instrument for household devotions. Further, considering that psalm intabulations required less overall skill than arrangements of other vocal genres such as chansons or madrigals, and due to the volume limitations of the instrument, psalms intabulations suggest a performance context better suited for intimate environments – regardless of confessional orientation. This is demonstrated by the literal and lightly embellished nature of the repertory, which was suitable for amateurs who may have envisioned the instrument (and its sacred repertoire) as a function of household edification.

Almost every lute psalm print of French origin extant explicitly states (either in the preface or with the appearance of mensural notation for voice) that the lute was designed to accompany a singer. Attempting to assign this intention to German psalm prints without the benefit of similar directives may not be as problematic as it initially appears. Most lute prints originating from Germany do not explicitly state the manner of performance practice. Lack of performance instruction, then, emerges as a tradition of German lute publications. Though one cannot state with absolute certainty that lute

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<sup>302</sup> The first setting of the Geneva melodies is Adrian LeRoy's *Tiers livre de tabulature de luth* (1552), only ten years before the complete monophonic psalter of Beze and Bourgeois: *Les pseumes mis en rime françoise, par Clément Marot, & Théodore de Bèze*.

psalms originating from German speaking lands were intended accompany singing, the popularity of the psalm texts, the Geneva melodies themselves, and the mostly literal nature of the intabulations suggests that vocal performance was implied.<sup>303</sup> However, with devotional practice considered a subjective and personalized act, these arrangements could also be considered a mechanism to musically explore one's spirituality through, for example, the process of embellishment. Thus, this repertoire may have had multiple functions that permeated and informed private devotional practices.

While psalm prints originating from German speaking lands appear as a spike in the overall lute repertoire, considering psalm intabulations for lute as only temporarily popular seems less likely than conceiving the repertoire as a distinct tradition. Psalm and psalm paraphrases were a staple of both the vocal and lute repertory from the beginning of the Reformation to the eighteenth century, especially in manuscript. Conceiving the early seventeenth-century production of complete Psalters for lute as a keen reaction to a Calvinist-based tacit sanctioning of instrumental accompaniment to psalm singing (through *Andachtliteratur*) and an overt Lutheran endorsement of the practice seems more likely. However, considering the popularity of Lobwasser psalter, one cannot dismiss the idea that Lobwasser's publication may have spurred the need for such prints.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of this repertoire is the judicious use of embellishment. Though many of the idiomatic elaborations serve to sustain long notes present in the vocal models, there appears to be a deliberate effort in virtually the entire tradition to make the chorale melody as clear as possible by elaborating harmonizing

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<sup>303</sup> This is also demonstrated by embellished intabulations. Since they are not as technically challenging as interpretations of secular vocal models, many of these embellished lute chorale arrangements can be played at the same tempo as a strict literal interpretation. Thus, the majority of the extant repertoire could be played by an amateur lutenist of modest skill.

voices instead of the primary melody. Given that these intabulations are polyphonic, lutenists likely emphasized the melody in performance in order to establish the work's spiritual *genus* – a key consideration for Lutheran discussions of instrumental music in the context of worship, as we have seen in Chapter three. In the German lute repertoire, chorale and psalm intabulations appear with text incipits for identification purposes and (mostly) without underlayed text. As mentioned in Chapter one, this lack of text underlay for intabulated sacred songs appears to be a German printing tradition in contrast to prints originating from France and the Low Countries; however, the lutenist would have seen the incipit and known the intabulation's model – its musical *genus*. The lutenist would not have been alone in benefiting from the spiritual effect of the *genus* of the intabulation: indeed, anyone who heard and recognized the melody as a spiritual song would have been open to its spiritual power. Thus, *playing* or *hearing* an instrumental arrangement of a sacred song had the same potential to be an act of devotion, praise and edification as *singing* the same text. As a consequence, intabulations could have a spiritual function in either a public or private context regardless of the presence of the text of the vocal model.

Since diaries of the period addressed only the exceptional parts of an individual's day and letters tended to omit musical detail, we are left with only circumstantial (and perhaps implicit) evidence of lutes used in sacred domestic contexts. Yet this evidence is strong when taken in aggregate. With *Andachtliteratur* not directly prohibiting the use of musical instruments and music books stating that instruments can be used in family devotions, certainly the opportunity was left open for the devotional use of lutes in the Early Modern household. Likewise, the Lutheran writers who debated the function of

music never explicitly (nor implicitly) addressed the role of instruments in domestic edification. Rather, the concern was whether music was either a “gift of the Holy Spirit” or a mechanism to praise God. Both perspectives implicitly sanctioned the use of lutes for home worship through the ambiguous nature of the theological debate. The existence of the lute chorale repertoire (at some level) suggests this hypothesis as both intabulators and consumers of these works clearly perceived a need for the instrument in a sacred context.

The adoption of *Andachtliteratur* by Protestant families demonstrated the public-to-private trajectory of Early Modern Protestant life. Heads-of-household brought from the secular world what they thought would best suit the family’s needs for the private spiritual edification of the home. This is seen in the *Andachtliteratur*, in which the use of musical instruments is neither prescriptive nor restricted. We can also observe the same spiritual public-private trajectory in the use of printed resources – such as congregational hymns and sermons – being brought into the home as links between public worship and domestic piety.<sup>304</sup> This is in contrast to private devotions, for which the *Andachtliteratur* books stress the praising of God in silence and in a private space where the body can be moved to devotion without fear of public ridicule.

German lute prints tend to be ambiguous in confessional orientation. In prints after 1570, a collection of Lutheran chorales may include an arrangement of a Lobwasser psalm. This ambiguity likely enabled broad confessional appeal for lute prints containing chorales and psalms. With the rise of Pietism and the popularity of *Andachtliteratur*, the lack of a specified confessional audience (Pietist or Orthodox, Calvinist or Lutheran)

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<sup>304</sup> Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation*, 31.

further complicates positioning any sixteenth or seventeenth-century lute print containing chorale or psalm intabulations into a specific religious camp.

Creating such binaries can over-simplify the historical context of the repertoire. Esaias Reusner's *Hundert Geistliche Melodien Evangelischer Lieder* (1678) appears to be the product of an Orthodox Lutheran given the number of original Luther chorales. Reusner's inclusion of sacred songs by Paul Gerhardt, however, would appeal to those interested in the new Pietist movement then occurring in Berlin. Yet his mention of the Lobwasser Psalter orients Reusner towards Calvinism – not surprising given his employment in a Calvinist court. Given the appearance of seemingly mutually exclusive musical works together in a single collection, the modern conception of sixteenth or seventeenth-century confessionalization as a binary construct may not reflect the attitudes of Early Modern lutenists – or for that matter, of the German-speaking public of the time. Certainly, one could make the case that Reusner's print was created to appeal to different demographics or economic markets. Yet this suggestion does not take into account the fact that through almost 150 years of tradition, Early Modern lute prints were (at their core) confessionally indistinct. Since Reusner's print is ambiguous in its confessional orientation, it appears more likely to reflect a need in the marketplace for lute arrangements suitable for *private devotions*, regardless of confessional orientation.

It seems virtually certain that music (sung and played) was an important resource for Early Modern domestic devotion alongside praying and reading. Rather than rigorously dictating all aspects of family life, devotional manuals provided dynamic guidelines – which certainly required dedication, but could be applied differently by every family or individual who owned these books. Some families may have used the

guidelines occasionally when circumstances required such piety, while others were likely more strict in practice. Other families undoubtedly attempted to follow these directions and adopted select aspects that suited their unique familial culture. Since Lutheran theology had encouraged musical worship – through communal hymn singing – from its inception, theologians were essentially supportive of the use of various forms of music in devotion, as long as the spiritual *genus* of the music was preserved. Indeed, musical devotion through intabulations of familiar devotional songs may have been especially welcome in households that were not entirely literate, or for family members who saw books as an obstacle to devotion and music as a key to their spiritual life.

## Appendix 1

### Catalog of Chorales and Psalms: Alphabetical

The following appendix lists all chorales and psalms with a German text incipit known to the author from the beginnings of the Reformation to 1678 in alphabetical order. For a list of source manuscripts, see table 1.4 and for a list of source prints, see table 1.3. Entries followed by an asterisk (\*) are from Lalius' *Testudo Spiritualis* (1617) and Vallet's *Regia Pietatis* (1620) and are duplicates of their corresponding "Psalm" entries. These psalm prints occur with multiple text identifiers: Psalm number, followed by the psalm's title in Latin, French, German and Dutch. As discussed in chapters one and two, the authors conceived these psalms with a specific psalm text. In an effort to assist the reader in locating specific psalms, I have provided the psalm text incipit followed by its corresponding psalm number to present the intent of these intabulators as closely as possible.



<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Ach Gott und Herr wie groß und schwer				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein	<b>D-B</b> <b>CH-Bu</b> <b>D-KA</b> <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-B</b> <b>D-Lr</b> <b>GB-Lbl</b>	Mus. ms. 40588 Ms. F.IX.70 Mus. Bd. A. 678 475 Mus. ms. 40141 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000 Ms. Sloane 1021	1552 1591-1594 1596-1605 c. 1600 1607-1620 c.1630 1640	Agricola, Martin      Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	      Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1529      1645 1678
Ach Gott wie [unknown ending]	<b>D-Kl</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 108 I	1610?			
Ach wie so selig ist der mensch vor Gott* [Psalm 119]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ach Gott wo soll ich finden	<b>Cz-Pnm</b> <b>S-SC</b>	Ms. XII.B.237 Ms. B	c.1600-1622			
Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen	<b>NL-At</b> <b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. 208 A. 27 Ms. F IX.70	1561-1577 1591-1594	Neusidler, Hans	Ein Newgoerdent Künstlich Lau/tenbuch	1536
Ach Herr Gott, meins Heils ein Horn				Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	1586
Ach Herr wie sind meiner feindt souil	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Ach herre Gott wie syndt meiner feyndt				Gerle, Hans	Musica Teutsch	1532
Ach hilf Herr ich verderbe	<b>RF-SPan</b>	O.N.124	1630-1660			
Ach milter Gott von Himmelreich	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fū 9825	1600-1620			
Ach wir armen Sünder	<b>D-KA</b> <b>D-B</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678 Mus. ms. 40264	1596-1605 1655-1660			
Ach wir armen Sünder M.J.B	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596-1605			
Ah wie so selig ist der mensch vor Gott				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Ain Kindlein/ geboren [1] Ain Kindlein/ geboren [2] alio modo auf der organ stellt	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
All die auff Gott den Herren haben* [Psalm 125]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
All ehr und lob soll Gottes	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Alle heittg? ist der tag				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr	<b>RF- Köning sberg</b>	Gen. 2. 150	1550- 1552			
Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr	<b>D-KA D-B D-LEm PL-Kj D-Lr</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678 Mus. ms. 40141 Ms. II.6.15 40159 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	1596- 1605 1607- 1620 1619 1635- 1640 c.1630	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ	<b>CH-Bu D-KA D-W  D-W  A-LIa A-LIa GB- Cfm</b>	Ms. F.IX.70 Mus. Bd. A. 678 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 475 475 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7- 1949 & Ms. 31- H-28)	1591- 1594 1596- 1605 1603- 1604  1603- 1604  c.1600 c.1600 1637	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Als Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

Chorale	Sigla	Call #	Date	Author	Short Title	Date
An Wasserflüssen Babylon	<b>D-DO</b> <b>A-Lla</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. G I 4 475 Ms. II.6.15 Ms. II.6.15 Ms. III.11.26	1580- 1595 c.1600 1619 1619 1625- 1630	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Anhor du Hirtt (Israel wärthe)* [Psalm 80]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Auf auf mein hertz	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655- 1660			
Auf dieser Erdt	<b>CH- SAM</b>	Mus. Ms. 2	c.1550			
Auf dieser Erdt mein hertz	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40154				
Auf meinen lieben Gott				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Außer immensam außer Deus	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40141	1607- 1620			
Auff dich ich all mein hoffnung setze* [Psalm 71]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Auff dich setz ich Herz mein vertrauen* [Psalm 31]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Auff Gott mein* [Psalm 11]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Aus des Gottlosen thun und werk* [Psalm 36]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1620 1617
Aus meines Herten Grunde	<b>D-KA</b> <b>LT-Va</b>  <b>D-W</b>  <b>GB- Cfm</b>  <b>GB-Lbl</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7- 1949 & Ms. 31- H-28) Ms. Sloane 1021	1596- 1605 1600- 1625  1603- 1604  1637  1640	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Aus meines Hertzen Grunde sage ich dir/ lob	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15	1619			
Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir	<b>RF-</b> Köning sberg <b>D-B</b> <b>CH-</b> SAM <b>PL-Kj</b> <b>CH-Bu</b> <b>CH-Bu</b> <b>D-B</b>	Gen. 2. 150  Mus. ms. 40588 Mus. Ms. 1  W 510 Ms. F.IX.23 Ms. F.IX.70 Mus. ms. 40141	1550- 1552  1552 1563  1563- 1570 1575 1591- 1594 1607- 1620	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Auß teifer noth schrei ich zu dir	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Aus Zion dir	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
Aus Zion dir [geschicht groß ehre]* [Psalm 65]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620
Befehl dem Hern deine Wege	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40598	1570- 1575			
Beheut dich Gott	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
Bericht von Himmel	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.24	c. 1680			
Bewahr mich, Herr	<b>PL-Kj</b>  <b>PL-Kj</b>	W 510  40598	c.1563- 1570  1570- 1575	Heckel, Wolf  Ochsenkun, Sebastian  Heckel, Wolf  Jobin, Bernhart Waissel, Matthäus  Neusidler, Melchior	DISCANT / Lautten buch Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten  DISCANT / Lautten buch  Das Erste Büch Tabulatura / Contines Teutsch Lauten/buch	1556  1558  1562  1572 1573  1574
Bewahr mich, Herr Gott	<b>D-Mbs</b>  <b>CH-Bu</b>	Mus. Ms. 266  Ms. F.IX.70	1550- 1570 1591- 1594			
Bewahr mich* [Psalm 12]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620
Bewahr mich, Herr mein Trost* [Psalm 65]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620
Brüste dich Godt	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Capitan Herr Gott				Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Laudten	1533
Christ, der du bist der helle Tag	A-LIa	475	c. 1600			
Christ fuhr gen Himmel				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Christ ist erstanden	D- WERI D-DO  D-W	Musikalien Nr. 6 Ms. G I 4  Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1525  1580- 1595 1603- 1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christ lag in Todesbanden	D-KA  A-LIa D-Lr	Mus. Bd. A. 678  475 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	1596- 1605 c. 1600 c.1630	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christ lag in Todesbanden vor unser Sünde	D-B	Mus. ms. 40264	1655 - 1660			
Christ, der du bist der helle Tag	GB- Cfm	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7- 1949 & Ms. 31- H-28)	1637	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam	A-LIa	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christus dem uns selig macht				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Christus, Wahrer Gottes Sohn	D-W	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Da Israel auß Agypten zog	<b>CH-Bu</b> <b>A-LIa</b>	Ms. F.IX.70 475	1591-1594 c. 1600			
Da Israel zog auß Egyptenlandt* [Psalm 114]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596-1605	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Da Sion durch sein macht der Herr* [Psalm 126]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Da wir zu Babilon am wasser sassen* [Psalm 137]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Danck saget* [Psalm 117]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Dancket dem Herrn den erist sehr freundlich	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655-1660			
Dancket und lobt den Herren* [Psalm 107]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Danket dem Herren	<b>CH-Bu</b> <b>CH-Bu</b> <b>D-W</b>  <b>D-B</b> <b>D-B</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. F.X.11 Ms. F.IX.23 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Mus. ms. 40141 Mus. ms. 40141 Ms. III.11.26 Ms. Sloane 1021	1575 1575 1603-1604  1607-1620 1607-1620 1625-1630 1640	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Danket dem Herren oder/ Vitam que	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	1591-1594			
Das alte jahr vergangen ist	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fü 9825	1600-1620			
Das walt Gott vater und Gott Sohn				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Das walt mein Gott				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

Chorale	Sigla	Call #	Date	Author	Short Title	Date
Dem Herrn				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Dem Herr ein König ist* [Psalm 97]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Dem Herr ist mein getreue Hirt	A-LIa LT-Va	475 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	c.1600 1600- 1625			
Dem Herren lobt ihr Heiden (Psalm 117)				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Den Vater dort oben wollen wir				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Der Herr erhöhr dich in gefahren* [Psalm 20]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der Herr hat alles maä??[wohl]gemac ht				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Der Herr herrschen thut* [Psalm 99]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der Herr ist groß in Gottes Statt* [Psalm 48]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der Herr mein licht ist und regiert* [Psalm 48]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der Herr zu meinem Herzen hat gesprochen* [Psalm 110]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der König wirdt sich freuen Herz* [Psalm 21]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Der Tag der ist so freundenreich	PL-Kj	W 510	c.1563- 1570			
	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.23	1575			
[1]	D-DO	Ms. G I 4	1580- 1595			
[2]	D-DO	Ms. G I 4	1580- 1595			
	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.70	1591- 1594			
	A-LIa	475	c. 1600			
	D-W	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
	D-W	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Der Thöricht spricht: Es ist dein Gott	A-LIa D-W	475 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	c. 1600 1603- 1604			
Der unweiß man in seinem herzen spricht* [Psalm 53]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Die Heiden Herr sind in dein Erbschaft kommen* [Psalm 79]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Die helle Sohn leucht jetzt				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Die Himmel allzumal* [Psalm 19]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Die morgensonne gebet auf				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Die nacht ist hin der tag bricht an				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Die Nacht ist kommen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Die Nachtwach in vergangen ist				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Die Sonn hat sich verkrochen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Die Sonne wird mit ihren Schein				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Dies sind die heilgen zehn Gebot	A-LIa	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Dieses vorhergehen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Dir, Herr, will ich lobsingen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Du bist der auff den wir fur und fur hoffen* [Psalm 90]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Du bist ein Mensch das weißt du				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678



<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Du Friedenfürst, Herr Jesu Christ				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht* [Psalm 85]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620
Du wolst deine Gericht Herr geben* [Psalm 72]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620
Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt	<b>PL-Kj</b>  <b>D-KA</b>	40583  Mus. Bd. A. 678	1580- 1585 1596- 1605	  Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	  Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	  1645  1678
Ein feste Burg	<b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-W</b>  <b>D-LEm</b>  <b>PL-Kj</b>	Ms. F.IX.70  475 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2  Ms. III.11.26 40159	1591- 1594 c. 1600 1603- 1604  1625- 1630 1635- 1640	      Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	      Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	      1645  1678
Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem	<b>D-Mbs</b>  <b>A-LIa</b>	Mus. Ms. 1512  475	1533- 1550 c. 1600	  Reusner, Esias	  Hundert Geistliche Melodien	  1678
Ein lämmlein geht und trägt die				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ein Würmlein bin ich [arm und klein]				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Erbarm dich mein O Herr Gott	<b>D-LEm</b> <b>RF-</b> <b>SPan</b>	Ms. II.6.15 O.N.124	1619 1630- 1660	  Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	  Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	  1645  1678
Erbarm dich (Herr erbarm dich über mich)* [Psalm 57]				Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617  1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort	<b>A-LIa LT-Va</b>	475 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	c. 1600 1600- 1625	Ochsenkun, Sebastian	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten	1558
				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Erheb dein				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Erhör o Herz mein bitt und mein begehren* [Psalm 143]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Ermuntre dich Hertz, Muth und Sinn				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ermuntre dich mein schwacher Geist				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Erret mich o mein lieber Herre* [Psalm 140]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Erret mich und beschirm mich* [Psalm 59]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Erstanden ist der helig Christ	<b>D-Mbs</b>	Mus. Ms. 1512	1533- 1550	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
	<b>D-Mbs</b>	Mus. Ms. 1512	1533- 1550			
	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fü 9825	1600- 1620			
	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
	<b>RF- SPan</b>	O.N.124	1630- 1660			
Erzürn dich nicht uber die Gottlosen* [Psalm 37]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Es ist auf Erden	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	1591- 1594			
Es ist das Heil uns kommen her	<b>PL-Kj</b>	W 510	c.1563- 1570	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Es ist ein billig dinge* [Psalm 92]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Es sind doch selig alle	<b>CH-Bu</b> <b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.X.11 Ms. F.IX.70	1575 1591-1594			
Es spricht der Unweisen Mund	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Es stehn für Gottes Throne				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Es wird schier der letzte Tag				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Es woll im Gott genedig sein in Christo ist verschiden	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Es woll uns Gott genädig sein	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Ficht wieder meine* [Psalm 35]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678 1678
Freut euch, ihr lieben Christen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Frisch auf mein hertz sei wolgemut	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600-1625			
Frisch auf, mein Seel, verzage nicht				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Fürwahr Gott milt sich* [Psalm 73]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Furwahr nu Israel woll sagen kan* [Psalm 124]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gedenck o Herr und nim dich an* [Psalm 132]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gefrewt hat sich mein herz und munth* [Psalm 122]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Geliebten Freund, was thut ihr so verzagen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Gelobet sei Gott in [höchsten Thron] Himmelsthron				Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	1586
Gelobt sei Gott* [Psalm 144]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596- 1605	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1556
	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1562
	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Gleich wol hab ich überwunden				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Gott als ein König* [Psalm 53]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Gott dein wort mich getrostet hatt	<b>D-Mbs</b>	Mus. Ms. 266	1550- 1570			
Gott der du uns verstossen* [Psalm 60]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Gott der uber die Götter all regiert* [Psalm 50]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Gott der Vater wohn uns bei	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Gott grüß euch seines lieblein	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.23	1600- 1633			
Gott hat das Evangelium				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Gott ist in Juda woll bekant* [Psalm 76]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Gott ist mein licht	<b>A-Wn</b> <b>PL-Kj</b>  <b>CH-Bu</b>	19259 40598  Ms. F.IX.70	1564 1570- 1575 1591- 1594			
Gott ist mein Schutz				Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	1586

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Gott mach sich auff mit seiner gewalt* [Psalm 68]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gott segne uns durch seine güte* [Psalm 67]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gott sei gelobet und gebendeiet	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Gott seine wohnung* [Psalm 87]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gott steht in seiner gemine* [Psalm 82]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Gott Vater in dem himmelreich				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Gott Vater ursprung quell und				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Gott woll ihr Heil Verleihen	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
Großer Gott, ach meine Sünden				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Gruß dich Gott du	<b>D-Ngm</b>	33748 I	1615- 1620			
Günstiger Herr und Freundt	<b>D-Lr</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	c. 1630			
Helfft mier Gotts gütte preisen	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn	<b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>LT-Va</b>  <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-B</b>  <b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. F.IX.70  Ms. 285 MF LXXIX 475 Mus. ms. 40141  Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7- 1949 & Ms. 31- H-28)	1591- 1594 1600- 1625 c. 1600 1607- 1620  1637	Gerle, Hans      Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musica Teutsch      Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1532      1645 1678
Herr dein ohren zu mir neige* [Psalm 86]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr dein/ ohrenn zu mir/ neige	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	1591- 1594			
Herr du erforschet wer ich bin* [Psalm 139]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Herr Gott der du mein Vater	A-LIa	475	c. 1600			
Herr Gott der du uns strafft ausslegest* [Psalm 94]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr Gott dich loben alle wir	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600-1625	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Herr Gott dich loben wir				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Herr Gott ich nu bereitet bin* [Psalm 108]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr Gott ins				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr Gott kom mir zur rettung balt* [Psalm 70]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr Gott lass dich erbarmen				Ochsenkun, Sebastian	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten	1558
Herr Gott nach deiner rossen gutigkeit* [Psalm 51]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Herr Gott wir han [mit unsern Ohren] No Psalm #				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Herr Gott, dein Erwalt [wird billig]				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Herr Gott, Ich trau allein auf dich	PL-Kj D-W	W 510 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	c.1563-1570 1603-1604			
Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset  (alio modo)	D-W  D-Lem D-LEm	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Ms. II.6.15 Ms. II.6.15	1603-1604  1619 1619	  Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	  Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	  1645 1678
Herr Jesu Christ	PL-Kj	40598	1570-1575	Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	1586

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Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott	<b>LT-Va</b> <b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. Sloane 1021	1600- 1625 1640	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Herr Jesus Christ, [ich] weiß gar wohl [daß ich einmal]				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Herr, nun heb den Wagen selb	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40588	1552			
Herr thu uns hilf				Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Lauten	1533
Herr zur zucht in deinem grimme* [Psalm 38]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Hertzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Hertzliebster Jesu du hast außgesp				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Hertzliebster Jesu, was hast du				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Herzlich lieb hab ich dich O Herr	<b>CZ-Pu</b> <b>D-LEm</b>	59r.469 Ms. II.6.23	1592 1600- 1633	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Herzlich thut mich erfreuen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Herzlich thut mich verlangen	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	1665- 1670	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)  Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten  Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Heut triumphert Gottes Sohn	<b>CZ-Bsa</b>	G 10,1400	c.1575	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645  1678
Hilf, Herre Gott	<b>NL-At</b>	Ms. 208 A. 27	1561- 1577	Heckel, Wolf  Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch DISCANT / Lautten buch	1556  1562
Hilff Gott, daß mir gelingen	<b>D-KA</b> <b>LT-Va</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678  Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1596- 1605 1600- 1625	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Hilff mir Gott Gütte				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Hilff mir Herr Gott und mich erhalt* [Psalm 54]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Hör an Herr mein gerechtigkeit* [Psalm 17]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Hör an mein bitt* [Psalm 64]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Hört auff mit Trauren und klagen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Hört zu Ihr völker* [Psalm 49]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Iacht Gott mit hertzen freud				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich danck dir Herr auß [herzensgrund]	A-LIa	475	c. 1600			
Ich dancke dir von hertzen rein* [Psalm 111]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich dank dir Gott von herzen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich dank dir Herr von herzen rein* [Psalm 138]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich dank dir lieber Herre	<b>D-W</b>  <b>S-SC</b>  <b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-Lr</b> <b>GB-</b> <b>Cfm</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 PB. fil. 172 Per Brahe  Ms. II.6.15 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1603-1604  1610-1620  1619 c.1630 1637	  Fuhrmann, Georg   Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	  Testudo Gallo-Germanica  Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	  1615  1645 1678
Ich dank dir schon durch der [dienen] Sohn				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich dank dir, [Herr] Gott in deinem Throne				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich danke dir liebereicher Gott				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich danke dir, o Gott, in deinem Throne				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich hab gewart des herzen stetiglich* [Psalm 40]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620



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Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt	<b>D-LEm</b>  <b>LT-Va</b>  <b>LT-Va</b>  <b>D-W</b>  <b>GB-Cfm</b>  <b>D-B</b>	Ms. II.2.45 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7- 1949 & Ms. 31- H-28)  Mus. ms. 40264	1569- 1593 1600- 1625 1600- 1625 1603- 1604  1637  1655 - 1660	     Reusner, Esias (Sr.)   Reusner, Esias	     Musikalisher Lustgarten   Hundert Geistliche Melodien	     1645   1678
Ich hab mir vorgesetzt				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Ich lieb den herzen* [Psalm 116]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ	<b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. F.IX.70  Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1591- 1594 1600- 1625	  Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	  Musikalisher Lustgarten	  1645
Ich ruff und schren zu Gott dem Herren* [Psalm 120]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich ruff zu dir Her Jesu Christ	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ich ruff zu dir, hilff mir O trewer Gott				Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch	1586
Ich war bei mir entschlossen und bedacht* [Psalm 39]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich weiß daß mein Erlöser lebt	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15	1619	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Ich will des Herren gnad lobgesag* [Psalm 89]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich will dich preisen Herre Gott* [Psalm 30]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ich will nicht lassen ab* [Psalm 34]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Iesu du wollst unsweisen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Ihr gewaltigen von macht* [Psalm 29]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Ihr Volker auff der erden all* [Psalm 100]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

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In deinem großen Zoren* [Psalm 6]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
In deiser morgenstund				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr	<b>PL-Kj</b> <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-Lr</b>	W 510 475 Ms. II.6.15 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	c.1563-1570 c. 1600 1619 c.1630	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
In Gottes Namen fahren wir	<b>D-Mbs</b>	Mus. Ms. 1512	1533-1550			
Ißt leuchtet schon vom himelst				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Ist das der lieb, herr Jesu Christ	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fū 9825	1600-1620			
Ist Gott für mich, so trete				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Jauchzen will ich	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604			
Jauchzet dem Herren* [Psalm 66]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Jesu du hast mein sehel verwundt	<b>D-HRD</b>	Mus. Ms. Fū 9825	1600-1620			
Jesu du mein liebste Leben	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	1665-1670			
Jesu mein geistes heil	<b>RF-SPan</b>	O.N.124	1630-1660			
Jesu meine Freude	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	1665-1670	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Jesu meine liebe				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Jesulein du bist mein	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	1665-1670			

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Jesus Christus, unser Heiland	<b>RF-</b> Köning sberg	Gen. 2. 150	1550- 1552	Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Laudten	1533
	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596- 1605			
	<b>A-LIa</b> <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-B</b>	475 475 Mus. ms. 40141	c. 1600 c. 1600 1607- 1620	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Jesus Christus, wahr Gottes Sohn	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596- 1605			
Joseph, lieber Joseph mein	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.23	1575 1580- 1585			
	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40583	1580- 1585			
	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40583	1580- 1585			
	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
	<b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-Lr</b> <b>A-KR</b>	Ms. III.11.26 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000 L 81	1625- 1630 c.1630			
	<b>A-</b> Wengel Bensb.	NA	1640- 1650	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott	<b>D-DO</b>	1214	1676			
	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596- 1605			
	<b>D-Lr</b> <b>D-B</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 2000 Mus. ms. 40264	c.1630 1655 - 1660	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott Orl. 4 Voc	<b>D-DO</b>	Ms. G I 4	1580- 1595			
Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn	<b>D-DO</b>	Ms. G I 4	1580- 1595			
	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	1591- 1594	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Kompt last uns alle frölich sein* [Psalm 95]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Laßet uns den Herren preisen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Laßt furcht und dein weit von				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Lobet den Herren	<b>GB-Cfm</b>  <b>D-B</b>	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28) Mus. ms. 40264	1637  1655 - 1660			
Lobet den Herren alle heiden	<b>CZ-Pu</b> <b>D-LEm</b>	59r.469 Ms. II.6.15	1592 1619			
Lobet den Herren Schöpffer alles dinge				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Lobet den herren, alle, die [ihn ehren]				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Lobet den Herren, dem er ist sehr freundlich				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Lobet den Herrn inniglich* [Psalm 136]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Lobet den herrn und dankz ihm				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Lobet des Herrn werthen nam* [Psalm 135]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Lobet Gott den Herrnn wie sich gezeimet* [Psalm 147]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Lobet Gott unser Herren				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1617 1620 1645 1678
Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstahn				Judenkünig, Hans Neusidler, Hans	Ain schone... Ein Newgoerdent Künstlich Lau/tenbuch	1523 1536
				Neusidler, Hans	Ein newes Lautenbuchlein	1540
				Neusidler, Hans	Das Ander Buch	1544
	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40588	1552	Giulio Barbetta	Novae Tabulue Musicae testudina	1582
	<b>D-KA</b> <b>A-LIa</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678 475	1596- 1605 c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Man sprict waz gott zusammen fügt				Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1556
				Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1562
Mein augen ich genberg auffricht* [Psalm 121]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Gebett o Herr erhöre* [Psalm 102]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Gott mein Gott ach wie verstöß du mich* [Psalm 22]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Gott mein König hoch ich dich erhebe* [Psalm 145]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Gott und herr die sinstre				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Mein hertz furbringen wil ein schon gedichte* [Psalm 45]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein hertz nach Gottes willen	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15	1619			
Mein Hertz sich nicht erhebt sehr* [Psalm 131]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Hoffnung auff dir Herr thut schweben* [Psalm 7]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein Hütter und mein Hirte				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mein junges leben hat ein end	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15	1619			
Mein Seel erhebt den Herren				Ochsenkun, Sebastian	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten	1558
	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603- 1604			
Mein Seel gedutig sanst und stil* [Psalm 62]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Mein Seel, nun lob den herren				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Meine Seel erhebt [den Herren] or [zu dieser Frist]	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596-1605			
Meine Seele mit allem fleisse (psalm 146)				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Menschenkind, merk eben				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Merck auff mein volck auff mein gesetz* [Psalm 78]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Mit freuden will ich singen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Mit lieb bin ich umfängen	<b>CH-Bu</b> <b>D-DEI</b> <b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>PL-Kj</b>	Ms. F.X.11 BB 12150 Ms. F.IX.70  40143	1575 1579 1591-1594 1594-1603			
Mitten wir in Leben sind	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Nicht uns, nicht uns				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu freut euch Gottes kinder all				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Nu ihr Volcker all* [Psalm 47]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu lobt Gott dan er freundlich ist* [Psalm 106]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu lobt den Herrn al zu gleich* [Psalm 148]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu lobt den Herrn ihr sein knecht* [Psalm 113]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu lobt und dancht Gott alles amen* [Psalm 105]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu preis mein Seel den Herren (Psalm 103)				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Nu singet frolich Gott dem Herren* [Psalm 149]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist				Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1556
(1)	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.39	c.1575	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch	1562
(2)	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.39	c.1575			
	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655 - 1660	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun danket alle Gott				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun die sonne geht zu Schatten				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun freut euch, hier und überall				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun freut euch, leiben Christen gemein				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun grüss dich Got mein				Neusidler, Hans	Ein newes Lautenbuchlein	1541
				Neusidler, Hans	Das Erst Buch	1544
Nun grüss dich Gott	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40141	1607-1620			
Nun grüss dich Gott du mein drusserlein				Gerle, Hans	Musica Teutsch	1532
Nun ist die übermüde nacht				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun ist vollbracht auch deiser Tag				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun komm der heiden heiland	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596-1605			
	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600-1625			
	<b>S-SC</b>	PB. fil. 172 Per Brahe	1610-1620			
	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655-1660	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
	<b>D-ROu</b>	XVII-54	1665-1670	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren	<b>LT-Va</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. II.6.15 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1600-1625 1619 1637	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Nun lob mein Seel uns Gott den herren	<b>RF-Köning</b> <b>sberg</b> <b>CZ-Pu</b> <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-W</b>  <b>D-LEm</b> <b>GB-Cfm</b>  <b>GB-Lbl</b>	Gen. 2. 150  59r.469 475 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2 Ms. II.6.15 Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28) Ms. Sloane 1021	1550-1552  1592 c. 1600 1603-1604  1619 1637  1640	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren (Idem alio modo)	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604			
Nun preiset alle [Gottes Barmherzigkeit]				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun ruhen alle Wälder				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Nun singen wir aus herzen Gründ	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40141	1607-1620			
Nun singt ein neues lied dem Herren* [Psalm 98]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Nun Welche hie ihr Hoffnung gar	<b>D-DEI</b> <b>D-W</b>	BB 12150 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1579 1603-1604			
O du armer Judas	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40632	1565	Gerle, Hans	Musica Teutsch	1532
O du Gott der süßen schmerzen	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655-1660			



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O Gott der du ein heiffer bist* [Psalm 84]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
O Gott du				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Gott ich thu dir danken				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Gott mein helffer und mein heilandt* [Psalm 88]				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O Gott mein hort erhör mein fleyen* [Psalm 4]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
O Gott nu mehr* [Psalm 83]				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Gott, wir danken deiner Güt	<b>D-KA</b>  <b>LT-Va</b>  <b>GB-Cfm</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678  Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1596-1605 1600-1625 1637			
O heilige dreinsaltigkeit				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O Herr dein ohren zu mir keyre* [Psalm 5]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Herr der du mir macht und sterck thust gebe* [Psalm 18]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Herr Gott in dem ich mich rühme* [Psalm 109]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Herr Gott wir loben dich* [Psalm 75]				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
O Herr mit ferr sei dein gnad				Ochsenkun, Sebastian	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten	1558
O Herr wer wird Wohnungen han	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
O herre Gott				Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Laudten	1533
O Herre Gott erbarm dich uber mich* [Psalm 56]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
O Herre Gott, begnade mich	<b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>A-LIa</b> <b>D-B</b>	Ms. F.IX.70  475 Mus. ms. 40588	1591-1594 c. 1600 1552			
O Herre Gott, dein göttlichs Wort	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645

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O hochster Gott o unser lieber Herre* [Psalm 8]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O lamb Gottes, unschuldung	<b>D-KA</b>	Mus. Bd. A. 678	1596- 1605	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß	<b>CH-Bu</b>  <b>D-W</b>	Ms. F.IX.70  Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1591- 1594 1603- 1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
O Mensch der du die sicher lebt				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O Mensch woldest bedencken	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
O nostre/ Dieu	<b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70	1591- 1594			
O selig muß ich diesen menschen preisen* [Psalm 32]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
O Traurigkeit				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O Traurigkeit, o hertzleid	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40264	1655- 1660			
O Welt sieh hier dein leben				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
O Welt, ich muß dich lassen				Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Psalm 1				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 2	<b>PL-Kj</b>	40143	1594- 1603	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 3	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Psalm 4				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 5	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 6	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
	D-B	Mus. ms. 40264	1655- 1660	Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Psalm 7				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 8				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 9				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 10				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 11				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 12				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 13				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 14				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

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Psalm 15				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 16	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 17				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 18	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 19	D-B	Mus. ms. 40264	1655- 1660	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 20				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 21				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 22				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 23	PL-Kj	40143	1594- 1603	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra	1613
	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
Psalm 24	PL-Kj	40143	1594- 1603	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra	1613
	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625			
					Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

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Psalm 25	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel	Cythara Sacra	1613
	D-B	Mus. ms. 40264	1655- 1660	Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Psalm 26	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 27	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 28				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 29				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 30				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 31				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 32				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 33	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 34	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620

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Psalm 35	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 36	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 37	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613 1617 1620
Psalm 38				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 39				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 40				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 41				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 42	IRL- Dtc PL-Kj LT-Va   D-B	Ms. 410/1 40143 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX  Mus. ms. 40264	1583-5 1594- 1603 1600- 1625  1655- 1660	Reymann, Matthias Fuhrmann, Georg  Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Gallo- Germanica Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1615 1617 1620
Psalm 43				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 44	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620

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Psalm 45				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 46	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 47				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 48				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 49	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 50	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 51				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 52	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 53				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 54	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 55				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

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Psalm 56				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 57	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 58	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 59	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 60	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 61	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel	Cythara Sacra Testudo Spiritualis	1613 1617 1620
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	
Psalm 62	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 63				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 64	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 65	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620



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Psalm 66	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 67	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 68				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 69				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 70				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 71				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 72				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 73	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 74	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 75	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 76				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620



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Psalm 88				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 89	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 90				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 91	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Ps[alm] 91/ Wer in dem Schutz des höchsten ist Wer in des aller-/höchsten huet	D-LEm	Ms. II.6.15	1619			
Psalm 92	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 93				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 94				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 95	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 96				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 97	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

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Psalm 98	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 99	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 100				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 101	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 102				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 103	PL-Kj  LT-Va	40143  Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1594- 1603 1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 104				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 105				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 106				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 107				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620

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Psalm 108				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 109				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 110				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 111	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 112				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 113				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 114				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 115				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 116	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 117	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 118	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

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Psalm 119				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 120				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 121				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 122				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 123				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 124				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 125				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 126				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 127				Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 128	PL-Kj	40143	1594- 1603	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620
Psalm 129	A-Wn	19259	1564	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra	1613
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas	1620

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Psalm 130	A-Wn LT-Va	19259 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1564 1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 131				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 132				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 133				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 134	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 135				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 136				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 137				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 138				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 139				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 140	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel  Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620

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Psalm 141	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 142				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 143	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 144				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 145				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 146	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 147				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 148				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 149				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Psalm 150				Reymann, Matthias Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Cythara Sacra  Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1613  1617 1620
Rett mich aus meiner sein	GB-Lbl	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
Richt mich Herr Gott und halt mir rechte* [Psalm 43]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620



<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Richt mich und schaff mir* [Psalm 26]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
Sagt mir die ihr euch* [Psalm 58]				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Schaw wie so sein und lustig ist zu sehen* [Psalm 133]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Selig ist der gepreiset* [Psalm 128]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Singen wir auß herzensgrund	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604			
	<b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1637			
	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Singet dem Herrn	<b>IRL-Dtc</b>	Ms. 410/1	1583-5			
Singet ein neues lied dem Herrn* [Psalm 96]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Singt mit freier stimm* [Psalm 81]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Singt mit mir ein liedlein				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Thu Herr mein geschrei erhören* [Psalm 61]				Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617
				Vallet, Nicolaes		1620
Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Uns ist ein kindlein heut geboren	<b>CZ-Pu</b>	XXIII.F.174	1608	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Unser Vater in Himmelreich	<b>IRL-Dtc</b> <b>NL-Lt</b>	Ms. 410/1 Ms. 1666	1583-5 c. 1620			

Chorale	Sigla	Call #	Date	Author	Short Title	Date
Vater unser in Himmelreich	<b>D-Mbs</b> <b>D-Mbs</b> <b>PL-Kj</b> <b>D-KA</b> <b>A-LIa</b> <b>LT-Va</b> <b>D-W</b>	Mus. Ms. 270 Mus. Ms. 270 40598 Mus. Bd. A. 678 475 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1540- 1550 1540- 1550 1570- 1575 1596- 1605 c. 1600 1600- 1625 1603- 1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Verleih uns Frieden gnädlich	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Vertraue du dei- /nem lieben Gott	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. II.6.15	1619			
Vom himmel kam der Engel				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Von Gott will ich nicht lassen [1] [2]	<b>LT-Va</b> <b>D-LEm</b> <b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX Ms. II.6.15 Ms. II.6.15	1600- 1625 1619 1619			
Von Himmel her [unknown ending]	<b>D-Lr</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	c.1630			
Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her	<b>LT-Va</b> <b>S-SC</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX PB. fil. 172 Per Brahe	1600- 1625 1610- 1620	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Von jugent auff sie mich geengstigt han* [Psalm 129]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Von klagt mit angst und schmerzen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Vor Fremden last uns springen				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wach auf mein Herz, und singe				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wach auff mein seel und sag dem Herrn wol* [Psalm 104]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wann einer schon ein hauß* [Psalm 127]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Wann ich in Angst und Nöthen [bin]				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wann mein stundlein vorhanden ist	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Wann wir in höchsten Nöten sein	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 2923		Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
War auff ist doch der Heiden thun gestelt* [Psalm 2]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
War Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Warum betrübst dich mein herz	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Warum betrübst du dich, mein hertz	<b>D-W</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1603-1604	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Warumb verstößt du uns* [Psalm 47]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Was Gott/ will das geschach/ alle zeytt	<b>CH-Bu</b> <b>CH-Bu</b>	Ms. F.IX.70 Ms. F.IX.70	1591-1594 1591-1594			
Was lob sollen wir auch	<b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1637			
Was lobes sollen wir dir	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
Was mein Gott das geschich allzeit				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Was mein Gott will	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600-1625			
Was mein Gott will, das gescheh all zeit				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Was soll ich doch, o Ephraim				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Was thustu dich tyran verlassen* [Psalm 52]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Weg, mein herz, mit den Gedanken				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Weltlich Ehr und zeitlich Gut				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Wem wirstu lieber Herre mein* [Psalm 15]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Wend ab deinen Zorn, lieber her/ mitt gnaden	<b>D-B</b>	Mus. ms. 40141	1607-1620			
Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist	<b>D-W</b>  <b>D-Lr</b>	Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Augesteus 2 Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	1603-1604  c.1630	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wer Gott nicht mit uns	<b>A-LIa</b>	475	c. 1600			
Wer Gott nicht mir uns deise zeit				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Wer Gott vertraut hat wohl				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Wer in dem Schutz des höchsten ist				Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten	1645
Wer in des allerhöchsten hut* [Psalm 91]	<b>D-LEm</b> <b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. II.6.15 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1619 1600-1625	Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wer nicht* [Psalm 1]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wer unterm Schirm des höchsten				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Werde munter mein gemüthe				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wie groß ist des Allmächtgen Güte	<b>D-LEm</b>	Ms. III.12.18	C.1740			
Wie kompts dastu so fern von uns Herr* [Psalm 10]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wie nach einer Wasserquelle* [Psalm 42]	<b>D-DI</b>  <b>GB-Cfm</b>	M 297  Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1603  1637	Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes Reusner, Esias	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1617 1620 1678
Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern	<b>D-Lr</b> <b>PL-Kj</b> <b>D-B</b>	Ms. 4 Mus. 2000 40159 Mus. ms. 40264	c.1630 1635-1640 1655-1660	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Wie schön leuchtet uns der Morgenstern	<b>GB-Cfm</b>	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H-28)	1637	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Wie viel sind [der] o Herr* [Psalm 3]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wir Christen leuth				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wir glauben all an einen Gott	A-LIa	475	c. 1600	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Wo dem menchen der nicht				Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1678
Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns	D-Mbs D-KA A-LIa LT-Va	Mus. Ms. 266 Mus. Bd. A. 678 475 Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1550-1570 1596-1605 c. 1600 1600-1625	Neusidler, Melchior	Teutsch Lauten/buch	1574
[1] [2]	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600-1625	Reusner, Esias (Sr.) Reusner, Esias	Musikalisher Lustgarten Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1645 1678
Wo soll ich hin erwünte ich	GB-Lbl	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
Wohl dem der einen armen krancken nicht* [Psalm 41]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wohl dem der nicht wandelt	A-LIa	475	c. 1600			
Wohl dem der sich nur laßt begnügen	D-B D-ROu	Mus. ms. 40264 XVII-54	1655-1660 1665-1670			
Wohl dem Menschen, der wandelt nicht	CH-Bu D-W	Ms. F.IX.70 Ms. Codex Guelferbytanus 18.7 Auguesteus 2	1591-1594 1603-1604			
Wohlauf ihr Heiligen und Frommen* [Psalm 33]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Wol diesem menschen der den Herrn* [Psalm 112]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Woll Gots ich leute singen a Frid. Lin.	GB-Lbl	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			
Zu dir Herr Christe	D-Z CZ-Pu D-B	115.3 59r.469 Mus. ms. 40141	1590-1600 1592 1607-1620			

<b>Chorale</b>	<b>Sigla</b>	<b>Call #</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Short Title</b>	<b>Date</b>
Zu dir Herr thun ich seinlich flehen* [Psalm 141]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu dir ich mein Hertz erhebe* [Psalm 25]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu dir o hochster gott mein angesicht* [Psalm 123]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu dir schrei ich o trewe Herre* [Psalm 28]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu dir schrei ich umb hulff	<b>D-KA</b>	A.678				
Zu dir von Herten grunde* [Psalm 130]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes Reusner, Esias	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas Hundert Geistliche Melodien	1617 1620 1678
Zu Gott de				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu Gott in dem Himmel droben* [Psalm 77]	<b>LT-Va</b>	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	1600- 1625	Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben] * [Psalm 46]				Laelius, Daniel Vallet, Nicolaes	Testudo Spiritualis Regia Pietas	1617 1620
[Auss] Zion spriche	<b>GB-Lbl</b>	Ms. Sloane 1021	1640			

\* Indicates that this entry is duplicated under "Psalm."

## **Appendix 2**

### **Catalog of Chorales and Psalms: Chronological**

The following appendix lists all chorales and psalms with a German text incipit known to the author from the beginnings of the Reformation to 1678 in alphabetical order. For a list of source manuscripts, see table 1.4 and for a list of source prints, see table 1.3. This catalog is divided into two sections; print and manuscript. Each section is arranged chronologically according medium. By dividing this catalog according to medium, it gives a more precise view of the transmission of individual arrangements as the manuscript tradition for lute chorales and psalms are (largely) not comprised of copies of intabulations first appearing in print. Text incipit within individual sources are arranged alphabetically. As discussed in chapters one and two, Matthias Reyman's *Cythara Sacra* (1613) contains no text incipits. Thus, the entries for this print appear only as "Psalm" followed by the number.

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstahn	1523	Judenkünig , Hans	Aine schone kunstliche...
			Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein	1529	Agricola, Martin	Musica instrumentalis deudsch
			Ach herre Gott wie syndt meiner feyndt	1532	Gerle, Hans	Musica Teutsch
			Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn			
			Nun grüss dich Gott du mein drusserlein			
			O du armer Judas			
			Capitan Herr Gott	1533	Gerle, Hans	Tabulatur auff dei Laudten
			Herr thu uns hilff			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			O herre Gott			
			Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen	1536	Neusidler, Hans	Ein Newgoerdent Künstlich Lau/tenbuch
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan			
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan	1540	Neusidler, Hans	Ein neues Lautenbuchlein
			Nun grüss dich Got mein			
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan	1544	Neusidler, Hans	Das Erst Buch
			Nun grüss dich Got mein			
			Bewahr mich, Herr	1556	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Hilf, Herre Gott			
			Man sprict waz gott zusamen fügt			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist			
			Bewahr mich, Herr	1558	Ochsenkun, Sebastian	Tabulatur/buch auff dei Lautten
			Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort			
			Herr Gott lass dich erbarmen			
			Mein Seel erhebt den Herren			
			O Herr mit ferr sei dein gnad			
			Bewahr mich, Herr	1562	Heckel, Wolf	DISCANT / Lautten buch
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Hilf, Herre Gott			
			Man sprict waz gott zusamen fügt			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist			
			Bewahr mich, Herr	1572	Jobin, Bernhart	Das Erste Büch
			Bewahr mich, Herr	1573	Waissel, Matthäus	Tabulatura / Contines



Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Bewahr mich, Herr Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns	1574	Neusidler, Melchior	Teutsch Lauten/buch
			Ach Herr Gott, meins Heils ein Horn	1586	Kargel, Sixtus	Lautenbuch
			Gelobet sei Gott in [höchsten Thron] Himmelsthron			
			Gott ist mein Schutz			
			Herr Jesu Christ			
			Ich ruff zu dir, hilff mir O trewer Gott			
			Psalm 1	1613	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra
			Psalm 2			
			Psalm 3			
			Psalm 4			
			Psalm 5			
			Psalm 6			
			Psalm 7			
			Psalm 8			
			Psalm 9			
			Psalm 10			
			Psalm 11			
			Psalm 12			
			Psalm 13			
			Psalm 14			
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			Psalm 31			
			Psalm 32			
			Psalm 33			
			Psalm 34			
			Psalm 35			
			Psalm 36			
			Psalm 37			
			Psalm 38			
			Psalm 39			
			Psalm 40			
			Psalm 41			
			Psalm 42			
			Psalm 43			
			Psalm 44			
			Psalm 45			
			Psalm 46			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 47			
			Psalm 48	1613	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra
			Psalm 49			
			Psalm 50			
			Psalm 51			
			Psalm 52			
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			Psalm 99			
			Psalm 100			
			Psalm 101			
			Psalm 102			
			Psalm 103			
			Psalm 104			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 105			
			Psalm 106	1613	Reymann, Matthias	Cythara Sacra
			Psalm 107			
			Psalm 108			
			Psalm 109			
			Psalm 110			
			Psalm 111			
			Psalm 112			
			Psalm 113			
			Psalm 114			
			Psalm 115			
			Psalm 116			
			Psalm 117			
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			Psalm 140			
			Psalm 141			
			Psalm 142			
			Psalm 143			
			Psalm 144			
			Psalm 145			
			Psalm 146			
			Psalm 147			
			Psalm 148			
			Psalm 149			
			Psalm 150			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herr	1615	Fuhrmann, Georg	Testudo Gallo- Germanica
			Psalm 42			
			Psalm 119: Ach wie so selig ist der mensch vor Gott	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Psalm 125: All die auff Gott den Herren haben			
			Psalm 80: Anhor du Hirt [Israel wärthe]			
			Psalm 71: Auff dich ich all mein hoffnung setze			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 31: Auff dich setz ich Herz mein vertragen	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Psalm 11: Auff Gott mein			
			Psalm 36: Aus des Gottlosen thun und werk			
			Psalm 65: Aus Zion dir [geschiet groß ehre]			
			Psalm 65: Bewahr mich, Herr mein Trost			
			Psalm 12: Bewahr mich			
			Psalm 114: Da Israel zog auß Egyptenlandt			
			Psalm 126: Da Sion durch sein macht der Herr			
			Psalm 137: Da wir zu zu Babilon am wasser sassen			
			Psalm 117: Danck saget			
			Psalm 107: Dancket und lobt den Herren			
			Psalm 97: Dem Herr ein König ist			
			Dem Herrn			
			Psalm 20: Der Herr erhör dich in gefahren			
			Psalm 99: Der Herr herrschen thut			
			Psalm 99: Der Herr herrschen thut			
			Psalm 48: Der Herr ist groß in Gottes Statt			
			Psalm 27: Der Herr mein licht ist und regiert			
			Psalm 110: Der Herr zu meinem Herzen hat gesprochen			
			Psalm 21: Der König wirdt sich frewen Herz			
			Psalm 53: Der unweiß man in seinem herzen spricht			
			Psalm 79: Die Heiden Herr sind in dein Erbschaft kommen			
			Psalm 19: Die Himmel allzumal			
			Psalm 90: Du bist der auff den wir fur und fur hoffen			
			Psalm 85: Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht			
			Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht			
			Psalm 72: Du wolst deine Gericht Herr geben			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 57: Erbarm dich [Herr erbarm dich uber mich]	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Erbarm dich [Herr erbarm dich uber mich]			
			Erheb dein			
			Psalm 143: Erhör o Herz mein bitt und mein begehren			
			Psalm 140: Erret mich o mein lieber Herre			
			Psalm 59: Erret mich und beschirm mich			
			Psalm 37: Erzürn dich nicht uber die Gottlosen			
			Psalm 92: Es ist ein billig dinge			
			Psalm 35: Ficht wieder meine			
			Psalm 73: Fürwahr Gott milt sich			
			Psalm 124: Furwahr nu Israel woll sagen kan			
			Psalm 132: Gedenck o Herr und nim dich an			
			Psalm 122: Gefrewt hat sich mein herz und munth			
			Psalm 144: Gelobt sei Gott			
			Psalm 93: Gott als ein König			
			Psalm 60: Gott der du uns verstossen			
			Psalm 50: Gott der uber die Götter all regiert			
			Psalm 76: Gott ist in Juda woll bekant			
			Psalm 68: Gott mach sich auff mit seiner gewalt			
			Psalm 67: Gott segne uns durch seine güte			
			Psalm 87: Gott seine wohnung			
			Psalm 82: Gott steht in seiner gemine			
			Psalm 86: Herr dein ohren zu mir neige			
			Psalm 139: Herr du erforschet wer ich bin			
			Psalm 94: Herr Gott der du uns straff ausslegest			
			Psalm 108: Herr Gott ich nu bereitet bin			
			Herr Gott ins			
			Psalm 70: Herr Gott kom mir zur rettung balt			
			Psalm 51: Herr Gott nach deiner rossen gutigkeit			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 38: Herr zur zucht in deinem grimme	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Psalm 54: Hilff mir Herr Gott und mich erhalt			
			Psalm 17: Hör an Herr mein gerechtigkeit			
			Psalm 64: Hör an mein bitt			
			Psalm 49: Hört zu Ihr völker			
			Psalm 111: Ich dancke dir von hertzen rein			
			Psalm 138: Ich dank dir Herr von herzen rein			
			Psalm 40: Ich hab gewart des herzen stetiglich			
			Psalm 116: Ich lieb den herzen			
			<b>Chorale</b>			
			Psalm 120: Ich ruff und schren zu Gott dem Herren			
			Psalm 39: Ich war bei mir entschlossen und bedacht			
			Psalm 89: Ich will des Herren gnad lobgesag			
			Psalm 30: Ich will dich preisen Herre Gott			
			Psalm 34: Ich will nicht lassen ab			
			Psalm 29: Ihr gewaltigen von macht			
			Psalm 100: Ihr Volker auff der erden all			
			Psalm 6: In deinem großen Zoren			
			Psalm 66: Jauchzet dem Herren			
			Psalm 95: Kompt last uns alle frölich sein			
			Psalm 136: Lobet den Herrn inniglich			
			Psalm 135: Lobet des Herrn werthen nam			
			Psalm 147: Lobet Gott den Herrnn wie sich gezeimet			
			Lobet Gott unser Herren			
			Psalm 121: Mein augen ich genberg auffricht			
			Psalm 102: Mein Gebett o Herr erhöre			
			Psalm 22: Mein Gott mein Gott ach wie verstöß du mich			
			Psalm 145: Mein Gott mein König hoch ich dich erhebe			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 45: Mein hertz furbringen wil ein schon gedichte	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Psalm 131: Mein Hertz sich nicht erhebt sehr			
			Psalm 7: Mein Hoffnung auff dir Herr thut schweben			
			Psalm 62: Mein Seel gedutig sanst und stil			
			Meine Seele mit allem fleisse			
			Psalm 78: Merck auff mein volck auff mein gesetz			
			Psalm 47: Nu ihr Volcker all			
			Psalm 148: Nu lobt den Herrn al zu gleich			
			Psalm 113: Nu lobt den Herrn ihr sein knecht			
			Psalm 106: Nu lobt Gott dan er freundlich ist			
			Psalm 105: Nu lobt und dancht Gott alles amen			
			Psalm 103: Nu preis mein Seel den Herren			
			Psalm 149: Nu singet frolich Gott dem Herren			
			Psalm 98: Nun singt ein newes lied dem Herren			
			Psalm 84: O Gott der du ein heiffer bist			
			O Gott du			
			Psalm 88: O Gott mein helffer und mein heilandt			
			Psalm 4: O Gott mein hort erhör mein fleyen			
			Psalm 83: O Gott nu mehr			
			Psalm 5: O Herr dein ohren zu mir keyre			
			Psalm 18: O Herr der du mir macht und sterck thust gebe			
			Psalm 109: O Herr Gott in dem ich mich rühme			
			Psalm 56: O Herre Gott erbarm dich uber mich			
			Psalm 8: O hochster Gott o unser lieber Herre			
			Psalm 32: O selig muß ich diesen menschen preisen			
			Psalm 134 (no title)			
			Psalm 14 (no title)			
			Psalm 43: Richt mich Herr Gott und halt mir rechte			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 26: Richt mich und schaff mir			
			Psalm 58: Sagt mir die ihr euch	1617	Laelius, Daniel	Testudo Spiritualis
			Psalm 133: Schaw wie so sein und lustig ist zu sehen			
			Psalm 128: Selig ist der gepreiset			
			Psalm 96: Singet ein neues lied dem Herrn			
			Psalm 81: Singt mit freier stimm			
			Psalm 61: Thu Herr mein geschrei erhören			
			Psalm 129: Von jugent auff sie mich geengstigt han			
			Psalm 104: Wach auff mein seel und sag dem Herrn wol			
			Psalm 127: Wann einer schon ein hauß			
			Psalm 2: War auff ist doch der Heiden thun gestellt			
			Psalm 47: Warumb verstößt du uns			
			Psalm 52: Was thustu dich tyran verlassen			
			Psalm 15: Wem wirstu lieber Herre mein			
			Psalm 91: Wer in deß Allerhöchsten hut			
			Psalm 1: Wer nicht [mit den Gottlosen gehet zu rath]			
			Psalm 10: Wie kompts dastu so fern von uns Herr			
			Psalm 42: Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
			Psalm 3: Wie viel sind [der] o Herr			
			Psalm 41: Wohl dem der einen armen krancken nicht			
			Psalm 33: Wohlauf ihr Heiligen und Frommen			
			Psalm 112: Wol diesem menschen der den Herrn			
			Psalm 141: Zu dir Herr thun ich seinlich flehen			
			Psalm 25: Zu dir ich mein hertz erhebe			
			Psalm 123: Zu dir o hochster gott mein angesicht			
			Psalm 28: Zu dir schrei ich o trewe Herre			



Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 130: Zu dir von hertzen grunde			
			Zu Gott de			
			Psalm 77: Zu gott in dem Himmel droben			
			Psalm 46: Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben]			
			Psalm 31: Auff dich setz ich Herz mein vertrauen			
			Psalm 119: Ach wie so selig ist der mensch vor Gott	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 125: All die auff Gott den Herren haben			
			Psalm 80: Anhor du Hirt [Israel wärthe]			
			Psalm 71: Auff dich ich all mein hoffnung setze			
			Psalm 11: Auff Gott mein			
			Psalm 36: Aus des Gottlosen thun und werk			
			Psalm 65: Aus Zion dir [geschicht groß ehre]			
			Psalm 65: Bewahr mich, Herr mein Trost			
			Psalm 12: Bewarh mich			
			Psalm 114: Da Israel zog auß Egyptenlandt			
			Psalm 126: Da Sion durch sein macht der Herr			
			Psalm 137: Da wir zu zu Babilon am wasser sassen			
			Psalm 117: Danck saget			
			Psalm 107: Dancket und lobt den Herren			
			Psalm 97: Dem Herr ein König ist			
			Dem Herrn			
			Psalm 20: Der Herr erhör dich in gefahren			
			Psalm 99: Der Herr herrschen thut			
			Psalm 99: Der Herr herrschen thut			
			Psalm 48: Der Herr ist groß in Gottes Statt			
			Psalm 27: Der Herr mein licht ist und regiert			
			Psalm 110: Der Herr zu meinem Herzen hat gesprochen			
			Psalm 21: Der Konig wirdt sich frewen Herz			
			Psalm 53: Der unweiß man in seinem herzen spricht			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 79: Die Heiden Herr sind in dein Erbschaft kommen	1620	Vallet, Nicolaeas	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 19: Die Himmel allzumal			
			Psalm 90: Du bist der auff den wir fur und fur hoffen			
			Psalm 85: Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht			
			Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht			
			Psalm 72: Du wolst deine Gericht Herr geben			
			Psalm 57: Erbarm dich [Herr erbarm dich uber mich]			
			Erbarm dich [Herr erbarm dich uber mich]			
			Erheb dein			
			Psalm 143: Erhör o Herz mein bitt und mein begehren			
			Psalm 140: Erret mich o mein lieber Herre			
			Psalm 59: Erret mich und beschirm mich			
			Psalm 37: Erzürn dich nicht uber die Gottlosen			
			Psalm 92: Es ist ein billig dinge			
			Psalm 35: Ficht wieder meine			
			Psalm 73: Fürwahr Gott milt sich			
			Psalm 124: Fürwahr nu Israel woll sagen kan			
			Psalm 132: Gedenck o Herr und nim dich an			
			Psalm 122: Gefrewt hat sich mein herz und munth			
			Psalm 144: Gelobt sei Gott			
			Psalm 93: Gott als ein König			
			Psalm 60: Gott der du uns verstossen			
			Psalm 50: Gott der uber die Götter all regiert			
			Psalm 76: Gott ist in Juda woll bekant			
			Psalm 68: Gott mach sich auff mit seiner gewalt			
			Psalm 67: Gott segne uns durch seine güte			
			Psalm 67: Gott seine wohnung			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 82: Gott steht in seiner gemine	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 86: Herr dein ohren zu mir neige			
			Psalm 139: Herr du erforschet wer ich bin			
			Psalm 94: Herr Gott der du uns straff ausslegest			
			Psalm 108: Herr Gott ich nu bereitet bin			
			Herr Gott ins			
			Psalm 70: Herr Gott kom mir zur rettung balt			
			Psalm 51: Herr Gott nach deiner rossen gutigkeit			
			Herr Gott wir han [mit unsern Ohren] <b>No Psalm #</b>			
			Psalm 38: Herr zur zucht in deinem grimme			
			Psalm 54: Hilff mir Herr Gott und mich erhalt			
			Psalm 17: Hör an Herr mein gerechtigkeit			
			Psalm 64: Hör an mein bitt			
			Psalm 49: Hört zu Ihr völker			
			Psalm 111: Ich dancke dir von hertzen rein			
			Psalm 138: Ich dank dir Herr von herzen rein			
			Psalm 40: Ich hab gewart des herzen stetiglich			
			Psalm 116: Ich lieb den den herzen			
			Psalm 120: Ich ruff und schren zu Gott dem Herren			
			Psalm 39: Ich war bei mir entschlossen und bedacht			
			Psalm 89: Ich will des Herren gnad lobgesag			
			Psalm 30: Ich will dich preisen Herre Gott			
			Psalm 34: Ich will nicht lassen ab			
			Psalm 29: Ihr gewaltigen von macht			
			Psalm 100: Ihr Volker auff der erden all			
			Psalm 6: In deinem großen Zoren			
			Psalm 66: Jauchzet dem Herren			
			Psalm 95: Kompt last uns alle frölich sein			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 136: Lobet den Herrn inniglich	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 135: Lobet des Herrn werthen nam			
			Psalm 147: Lobet Gott den Herrnn wie sich gezeimet			
			Lobet Gott unser Herren			
			Lobt des Herrn werthem nam			
			Psalm 121: Mein augen ich genberg auffricht			
			Psalm 102: Mein Gebett o Herr erhöre			
			Psalm 22: Mein Gott mein Gott ach wie verstöß du mich			
			Psalm 145: Mein Gott mein König hoch ich dich erhebe			
			Psalm 45: Mein hertz furbringen wil ein schon gedichte			
			Psalm 131: Mein Hertz sich nicht erhebt sehr			
			Psalm 7: Mein Hoffnung auff dir Herr thut schweben			
			Mein Hoffnung auff dir Herr thut schweben			
			Psalm 62: Mein Seel gedutig sanst und stil			
			Meine Seele mit allem fleisse			
			Psalm 78: Merck auff mein volck auff mein gesetz			
			Psalm 47: Nu ihr Volcker all			
			Psalm 148: Nu lobt den Herrn al zu gleich			
			Psalm 113: Nu lobt den Herrn ihr sein knecht			
			Psalm 106: Nu lobt Gott dan er freundlich ist			
			Psalm 105: Nu lobt und dancht Gott alles amen			
			Psalm 103: Nu preis mein Seel den Herren			
			Psalm 149: Nu singet frolich Gott dem Herren			
			Psalm 98: Nun singt ein neues lied dem Herren			
			Psalm 84: O Gott der du ein heiffer bist			
			O Gott du			
			Psalm 88: O Gott mein helffer und mein heilandt			
			Psalm 4: O Gott mein hort erhör mein fleyen			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 83: O Gott nu mehr			
			Psalm 5: O Herr dein ohren zu mir keyre	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 18: O Herr der du mir macht und sterck thust gebe			
			Psalm 109: O Herr Gott in dem ich mich rühme			
			Psalm 56: O Herre Gott erbarm dich uber mich			
			Psalm 8: O hochster Gott o unser lieber Herre			
			Psalm 32: O selig muß ich diesen menschen preisen			
			Psalm 134 (no title)			
			Psalm 14 (no title)			
			Psalm 43: Richt mich Herr Gott und halt mir rechte			
			Psalm 26: Richt mich und schaff mir			
			Psalm 58: Sagt mir die ihr euch			
			Psalm 133: Schaw wie so sein und lustig ist zu sehen			
			Psalm 128: Selig ist der gepreiset			
			Psalm 96: Singet ein newes lied dem Herrn			
			Psalm 81: Singt mit freier stimm			
			Singt mit freier stimm			
			Psalm 61: Thu Herr mein geschrei erhören			
			Psalm 129: Von jugent auff sie mich geengstigt han			
			Psalm 104: Wach auff mein sel und sag dem Herrm wol			
			Psalm 127: Wann einer schon ein hauß			
			Wann einer schon ein hauß			
			Psalm 2: War auff ist doch der Heiden thun gestellt			
			Psalm 47: Warumb verstößt du uns			
			Psalm 52: Was thustu dich tyran verlassen			
			Psalm 15: Wem wirstu lieber Herre mein			
			Psalm 91: Wer in deß Allerhöchsten hut			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Psalm 1: Wer nicht [mit den Gottlosen gehet zu rath]	1620	Vallet, Nicolaes	Regia Pietas
			Psalm 10: Wie kompts dastu so fern von uns Herr			
			Psalm 42: Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
			Psalm 3: Wie viel sind [der] o Herr			
			Wie viel sind [der] o Herr			
			Psalm 41: Wohl dem der einen armen krancken nicht			
			Psalm 33: Wohlauf ihr Heiligen und Frommen			
			Psalm 112: Wol diesem menschen der den Herrn			
			Psalm 141: Zu dir Herr thun ich seinlich flehen			
			Psalm 25: Zu dir ich mein hertz erhebe			
			Psalm 123: Zu dir o hochster gott mein angesicht			
			Psalm 28: Zu dir schrei ich o trewe Herre			
			Psalm 130: Zu dir von hertzen grunde			
			Zu Gott de			
			Psalm 77: Zu gott in dem Himmel droben			
			Psalm 46: Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben]			
			Psalm 119: Ach wie so selig ist der mensch vor Gott			
			Psalm 125: All die auff Gott den Herren haben			
			Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen	1645	Reusner, Esias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten
			Ach Gott und Herr wie groß und schwer			
			Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Alle heittg? ist der tag			
			Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Allein zu dir Herr Jesus Christ			
			An Wasserflüssen Babylon			
			Auf meinen lieben Gott			
			Aus meines Hertzen Grunde			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Christ, der du bist der helle Tag			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Christ ist erstanden			
			Christ lag in Todesbanden	1645	Reusner, Esaiaas (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten
			Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam			
			Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht			
			Christus der uns selig macht			
			Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß			
			Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund			
			Danket dem Herren			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Die Nacht ist kommen			
			Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot			
			Du Friedenfürst, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Ein Würmlein bin ich [arm und klein]			
			Erbarm dich mein O Herr Gott			
			Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort			
			Erstanden ist der heilig Christ			
			Es ist das Heil uns kommen her			
			Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit			
			Es spricht der Unweisen Mund			
			Es stehn für Gottes Throne			
			Es wird schier der letzte Tag			
			Es wolt uns Gott genädig sein			
			Freut euch, ihr lieben Christen			
			Frisch auf, mein Seel, verzage nicht			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Gott der Vater wohn uns bei			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn			
			Herr Gott, dein Erwalt [wird billig]			
			Herr Gott dich loben alle wir			
			Herr Gott dich loben wir			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset	1645	Reusner, Esaias (Sr.)	Musikalisher Lustgarten
			Herr Jesus Christ, [ich] weiß gar wohl [daß ich einmal]			
			Herr Jesus Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott			
			Herzlich hab ich dich [lieb] O Herr			
			Herzlich thut mich erfreuen			
			Herzlich thut mich verlangen			
			Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn			
			Hilff Gott, daß mir gelinge			
			Hilff mir Gott Güte			
			Hört auff mit Trauren und klagen			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herre			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott [heimgestellt]			
			Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Ich weiß daß mein Erlöser lebt			
			Iesu du wollst unsweisen			
			In dich habe ich gehoffet Herr			
			In dulci iubilo			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
			Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn			
			Lob sei dem allmächtigen Gott			
			Lobet den Herren, dem er ist sehr freundlich			
			Lobet den Herren Schopffer alles dinge			
			Lobet Gott unser Herren			
			Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich			
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstahn			
			Mitten wir in Leben sind			
			Nu freut euch Gottes kinder all			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist			
			Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein			
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			Nun laßt uns den Lieb begraben			



Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren	1645	Reusner, Esaias (Sr.)	Musikalischer Lustgarten
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
			O Herre Gott, dein göttlichs Wort			
			O Iamb Gottes, unschuldung			
			O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß			
			O Welt, ich muß dich lassen			
			Puer natus in Bethleham			
			Singen wir auß herzensgrund			
			Spiritus sancti gratia			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her			
			Wann wir in höchsten Nöten sein			
			Warum betrübst du dich, mein hertz			
			Was mein Gott das geschich allzeit			
			Weltlich Ehr und zeitlich Gut			
			Wer Gott nicht mir uns deise zeit			
			Wer Gott vertraut hat wohl			
			Wer in dem Schutz des höchsten ist			
			Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern			
			Wir glauben all an einen Gott			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält			
			Ach Gott thu dich erbarmen	1678	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Ach Gott und Herr wie groß und schwer			
			Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Allein zu dir Herr Jesus Christ			
			Als Jesus Christus, Gottes Sohn			
			An Wasserflüssen Babylon			
			Auf meinen lieben Gott			
			Aus meines Hertzen Grunde			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Christ, der du bist der helle Tag	1678	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Christ fuhr gen Himmel			
			Christ ist erstanden			
			Christ lag in Todesbanden			
			Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam			
			Christe, der du bist Tag und Licht			
			Christus dem uns selig macht			
			Da der Herr Christ zu Tische saß			
			Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund			
			Danket dem Herren			
			Das walt Gott vater und Gott Sohn			
			Das walt mein Gott			
			Den Vater dort oben wollen wir			
			Der Herr hat alles maã??[wohl]gemacht			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Die helle Sohn leucht jetzt			
			Die morgensonne gebet auf			
			Die nacht ist hin der tag bricht an			
			Die Nacht ist kommen			
			Die Nachtwach in vergangen ist			
			Die Sonn hat sich verkrochen			
			Die Sonne wird mit ihren Schein			
			Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot			
			Dir, Herr, will ich lobsingen			
			Du bist ein Mensch das weißt du			
			Du Friedenfürst, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Ein Kind geboren zu Bethlehem			
			Ein lammlein geht und trägt die			
			Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott			
			Ermuntre dich Hertz, Muth und Sinn			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Ermuntre dich mein schwacher Geist	1678	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Erschienen ist der herrlich Tag			
			Es ist das Heil uns kommen her			
			Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit			
			Es spricht der Unweisen Mund			
			Es stehn für Gottes Throne			
			Es wolt uns Gott genädig sein			
			Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele			
			Freu dich sehr, o meine Seele			
			Geliebten Freund, was thut ihr so verzagen			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Gleich wol hab ich überwunden			
			Gott der Vater wohn uns bei			
			Gott hat das Evangelium			
			Gott Vater in dem himmelreich			
			Gott Vater ursprung quell und			
			Großer Gott, ach meine Sünden			
			Helfft mir Gottes gütte preisen			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn			
			Herr Gott dich loben alle wir			
			Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset			
			Herr Jesus Christ, wahr Mensch und Gott			
			Hertzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr			
			Hertzliebster Jesu du hast außgesp			
			Hertzliebster Jesu, was hast du			
			Herzlich thut mich verlangen			
			Heut triumphieret Gottes Sohn			
			lacht Gott mit hertzen freud			
			Ich dank dir Gott von herzen			
			Ich dank dir, [Herr] Gott in deinem Throne			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herre			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Ich dank dir schon durch der [dienen] Sohn	1678	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Ich danke dir liebereicher Gott			
			Ich danke dir, o Gott, in deinem Throne			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt			
			Ich ruff zu dir Her Jesu Christ			
			In deiser morgenstund			
			In dich habe ich gehoffet Herr			
			In dulci iubilo			
			Ißt leuchtet schon vom himelst			
			Ist Gott für mich, so trete			
			Ist Gott für mich, so trete			
			Jesu meine Freude			
			Jesu meine liebe			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott			
			Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn			
			Laßet uns den Herren preisen			
			Laßt furcht und dein weit von			
			Lobet den herren, alle, die [ihn ehren]			
			Lobet den Herren, dem er ist sehr freundlich			
			Lobet den herrn und dankz ihm			
			Lobet Gott unser Herren			
			Mein Gott und herr die sinstre			
			Mein Seel, nun lob den herren			
			Menschenkind, merk eben			
			Mit freuden will ich singen			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist			
			Nun danket alle Gott			
			Nun die sonne geht zu Schatten			
			Nun freut euch, hier und überall			
			Nun freut euch, leiben Christen gemein			
			Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein			
			Nun ist die übermüde nacht			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Nun ist vollbracht auch deiser Tag	1678	Reusner, Esias	Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			Nun laßt uns den Leib begraben			
			Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
			Nun preiset alle [Gottes Barmherzigkeit]			
			Nun ruhen alle Wälder			
			O Gott ich thu dir danken			
			O heilige dreinsaltigkeit			
			O Jesu Christ, meins Lebens Licht			
			O lamb Gottes, unschuldung			
			O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß			
			O Mensch der du die sicher lebst			
			O Traurigkeit			
			O Welt, ich muß dich lassen			
			O Welt sieh hier dein leben			
			Sei fröhlich alles weit und breit			
			Singen wir auß herzensgrund			
			Singt mit mir ein liedlein			
			Treuer Gott, ich muß dir klagen			
			Uns ist ein kindlein heut geborn			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Vom himmel kam der Engel			
			Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her			
			Von klagt mit angst und schmerzen			
			Vor Fremden last uns springen			
			Wach auf mein Herz, und singe			
			Wann ich in Angst und Nöthen [bin]			
			Wann wir in höchsten Nöten sein			
			War Gott nicht mit uns diese zeit			
			Warum betrübst du dich, mein hertz			
			Was mein Gott will, das gescheh all zeit			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date 1678	Author Reusner, Esias	Short Title Hundert Geistliche Melodien
			Was soll ich doch, o Eprhaim			
			Weg, mein herz, mit den Gedanken			
			Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist			
			Wer unterm Schirm des höchsten			
			Werde munter, mein Gemüte			
			Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
			Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern			
			Wie schön leuchtet [uns] der Morgenstern			
			Wier Christen leuth			
			Wir glauben all an einen Gott			
			Wo dem menchen der nicht			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält			
			Zu dir von Hertzen grunde			
1525	D-WER1	Musikalien Nr. 6	Christ ist erstanden			
1533- 1550	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 1512	Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ			
			In Gottes Namen fahren wir			
1540- 1550	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 270	Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
c. 1550	CH-SAM	Mus. Ms. 2	Auf dieser Erdt			
1550- 1552	RF- Königsberg	Gen. 2. 150	Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
1550- 1570	D-Mbs	Mus. Ms. 266	Bewahr mich, Herr Gott			
			Gott dein wort mich getrostet hatt			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält			
1552	D-B	Mus. ms. 40588	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Herr, nun heb den Wagen selv [1]			

Date 1552	Sigla D-B	Call # Mus. ms. 40588	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Herr, nun heb den Wagen selb [2]			
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan			
			O Herre Gott, begnade mich			
1561- 1577	NL-At	Ms. 208 A. 27	Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen			
			Hilf, herre Gott			
c.1563- 1570	PL-Kj	W 510	Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Bewahr mich, Herr			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Es ist das Heil uns kommen her			
			Herr Gott, ich trau allein auf dich			
			In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr			
1563	CH-SAM	Mus. Ms. 1	Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
1564	A-Wn	19259	Gott ist mein licht			
			Psalm 129			
			Psalm 130			
1565	D-B	Mus. ms. 40632	O du armer Judas wass			
1569- 1593	D-LEm	Ms. II.2.45	Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt			
1570- 1575	PL-Kj	40598	Befiehl dem Hern deine Wege			
			Bewahr mich, Herr			
			Gott ist mein licht			
			Herr Jesu Christ			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
c.1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.39	Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist (1)			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist (2)			
c.1575	CZ-Bsa	G 10,1400	Heut triumphert Gottes Sohn			
1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.23	Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Danket dem Herren			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
1575	CH-Bu	Ms. F.X.11	Danket dem Herren			
			Es sind doch selig alle			
			Mit lieb bin ich umfassen			
1579	D-DEI	BB 12150	Mit lieb bin ich umfassen			
			Nun Welche hie ihr Hoffnung gar			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1580-1585	PL-Kj	40583	Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein [1]			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein [2]			
1580-1595	D-DO	Ms. G I 4	An Wasserflüssen Babylon			
			Christ ist erstanden			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich [1]			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich [2]			
			Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott Orl. 4 Voc			
			Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn			
1583-5	IRL-Dtc	Ms. 410/1	Psalm 42			
			Singet dem Herrn			
			Unser Vater in Himmelreich			
			Singet dem Herrn			
1590-1600	D-Z	115.3	Zu dir Herr Christe			
1591-1594	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.70	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Ach Gott, wem soll ich klagen			
			Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Bewahr mich, Herr Gott			
			Da Israel auß Agypten zog			
			Danket dem Herren oder/ Vitam que			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Es ist auf Erden			
			Es sind doch selig alle			
			Gott ist mein licht			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn			
			Herr dein/ ohrenn zu mir/ neige			
			Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Kommt her zu mir spricht Gottes Sohn			
			Mit lieb bin ich umfangen			
			O Herre Gott, begnade mich			
			O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß			
			Was Gott/ will das geschach/ alle zeytt [1]			



Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1591-1594	CH-Bu	Ms. F.IX.70	Was Gott/ will das geschach/ alle zeytt [2]			
			Wohl dem Menschen, der wandelt nicht			
1592	CZ-Pu	59r.469	Herzlich lieb hab ich dich O Herr			
			Lobet den Herren alle heiden			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
			Zu dir Herr Christe			
1594-1603	PL-Kj	40143	Mit lieb bin ich umfassen			
			Psalm 2			
			Psalm 23			
			Psalm 24			
			Psalm 42			
			Psalm 103			
			Psalm 128 [Beatus vir...]			
1596-1605	D-KA	Mus. Bd. A. 678	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Ach wir armen Sünder			
			Ach wir armen Sünder M.J.B			
			Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Aus meines Hertzens Grunde			
			Christ lag in Todesbanden			
			Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund			
			Durch Adams fall ist ganz verderbt			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Hilff Gott, daß mir gelinge M.J.B			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			Jesus Christus, wahr Gottes Sohn			
			Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott			
			Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstan			
			Meine Seel erhebt [den Herren] or [zu dieser Frist]			
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			O Gott, wir danken deiner Güt			
			O lamb Gottes, unschuldung			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			

Date 1596- 1605	Sigla D-KA	Call # Mus. Bd. A. 678	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält			
			Zu dir schrei ich umb hulff			
c. 1600	A-Lia	475	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Psalm 1: Ach Herr wie sind meiner feindt souil			
			All ehr und lob soll Gottes			
			Allein zu dir Herr Jesus Christ [1]			
			Allein zu dir Herr Jesus Christ [2]			
			An Wasserflüssen Babylon			
			Auß teifer noth schrei ich zu dir			
			Christ, der du bist der helle Tag			
			Christ lag in Todesbanden			
			Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam			
			Da Israel auß Agypten zog			
			Dem Herr ist ein getreueur hirt			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich			
			Psalm 53: Der Thöricht spricht: Es ist dein Gott			
			Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Ein kind geboren zu Bethlehem			
			Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ [1]			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ [2]			
			Es spricht der Unweisen Mund			
			Es woll im Gott genedig sein in Christo ist verschiden			
			Es woll uns Gott genädig sein			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Gott der Vater wohn uns bei			
			Gott sei gelobet und gebendeiet			
			Helft mir Gotts güte preisen			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
c. 1600	A-Lia	475	Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn			
			Herr Gott der du mein Vater			
			Ich danck dir Herr auß [herzensgrund]			
			Ich ruff zu dir Herr Jesu christ			
			In dich hab ich gehoffet Herr			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland [1]			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland [2]			
			Mag ich ungluck nit weider stan			
			Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist			
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
			O Herr wer wird Wohnungen han			
			O Herre Gott, begnade mich			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Verleih uns Frieden gnädlich			
			Wann mein stundlein vorhanden ist			
			Warum betrübst dich mein herz			
			Wer Gott nicht mit uns			
			Wir glauben all an einen Gott			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält			
			Psalm3: Wohl dem der nicht wandelt			
c.1600	Cz- Pnm	Ms. XII.B.237	Ach Gott wo soll ich finden			
1600-1620	D-HRD	Mus. Ms. Fū 9825	Ach milter Gott von Himmelreich			
			Das alte jahr vergangen ist			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ			
			Ist das der lieb, herr Jesu Christ			
			Jesu du hast mein sehel verwundt			
1600-1625	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	Psalm 80: Anhor du Hirtt [Israel wärthe]			
			Psalm 36: Aus des Gottlosen thun und werk			
			Aus meines Hertzen Grunde			
			Psalm 65: Aus Zion dir			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1600-1625	LT-Va \ 	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	Beheut dich Gott			
			Psalm 16: Bewahr mich, Herr mein Trost			
			Psalm 97: Dem Herr ein König ist			
			Dem Herr ist mein getreueur Hirt – Not in DB			
			Dem Herren der Erdkreis – Not in DB			
			Psalm 117: Dem Herren lobt ihr Heiden			
			Psalm 99: Der Herr herrschen thut			
			Psalm 27: Der Herr mein licht ist			
			Psalm 97: Die Heiden Herr sind in dein Erbschaft kommen			
			Psalm 85: Du hast Herr mit den deinen Fried gemacht			
			Psalm 57: Erbarm dich [Herr erbarm dich über mich]			
			Erhalt uns Herr bei deinem Wort			
			Psalm 143: Erhör o Herr mein Bitt und Flehen			
			Psalm 140: Erret mich o mein lieber Herre			
			Psalm 59: Erret mich und beschirm mich			
			Psalm 37: Erzürn dich nicht			
			Psalm 92: Es ist ein billig dinge			
			Psalm 35: Ficht wieder meine			
			Frisch auf mein hertz sei wolgemut			
			Psalm 73: Fürwahr Gott milt sich			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Psalm 60: Gott der du uns verstossen			
			Psalm 50: Gott der über die Götter			
			Gott woll ihr Heil Verleihen			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn			
			Psalm 44: Herr Gott wir han [mit unsern Ohren]			
			Herr Jesu Christ wahr Mensch und Gott			
			Hilff Gott, daß mir gelingen			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1600-1625	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	Psalm 54: Hilff mir Herr Gott und mich erhalt			
			Psalm 49: Hört zu ihr völker			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt [1]			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt [2]			
			Psalm 101: Ich hab mir vorgesetzt			
			Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ			
			Psalm 89: Ich will des Herren gnad lobgesag			
			Psalm 34: Ich will nicht lassen ab			
			Psalm 6: In deinem großen Zoren			
			Psalm 66, 98, 111: Jauchzet dem Herren – insert DB notes in fn			
			Psalm 23: Mein Hütter und mein Hirte			
			Psalm 46: Meine Seele mit allem fleisse			
			Psalm 103: Nu preis mein Seel den Herren			
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren			
			Psalm 84: O Gott der du ein Heerfürst			
			O Gott, wir danken deiner Güt			
			Psalm 5: O Herr dein ohren zu mir keyre			
			Psalm 18: O Herr der du mir Macht und Stark			
			Psalm 75: O Herr Gott wir loben dich			
			Psalm 134: O ihr Knechte [lobet] den Herren			
			Psalm 26: Richt mich und schaff mir			
			Psalm 58: Sagt mir die ihr euch			
			Psalm 81: Singt mit freier			
			Psalm 61: Thu Herr mein geschrei			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Von Gott will ich nicht lassen			
			Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her			
			Psalm 74: Warumb verstößt du uns			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1600-1625	LT-Va	Ms. 285 MF LXXIX	Was mein Gott will			
			Psalm 52: Waß thust du dich			
			Psalm 91: Wer in deß Allerhöchsten hut			
			Psalm 42: Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
			Psalm 3: Wie viel sind [der] o Herr			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält [1]			
			Wo Gott der Herr nicht bei uns hält [2]			
			Psalm 33: Wohlauf ihr Heiligen und Frommen			
			Psalm 141: Zu dir Herr			
			Psalm 25: Zu dir ich mein Hertz erhebe			
			Psalm 130: Zu dir von Hertzen Grund			
			Psalm 77: Zu Gott in dem Himmel droben			
			Psalm 76: Zu Gott wir [unser Zuflucht haben]			
1600-1633	D-LEm	Ms. II.6.23	Gott grüß euch seines lieblein			
			Herzlich lieb hab ich dich O Herr			
1603	D-Dl	M 297	Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
1603-1604	D-W	Ms. Codex Guelferbytan us 18.7 Auguesteus 2	Ain Kindlein/ geboren (alio modo auf der organ stelt) [2]			
			Ain Kindlein/ geboren [1]			
			Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ [1]			
			Allein nach dir, Herr Jesu Christ [2]			
			Aus meines Hertzen Grunde			
			Christ ist erstanden			
			Christus, Wahrer Gottes Sohn			
			Danket dem Herren			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich [1]			
			Der Tag der ist so freundenreich [2]			
			Der Thöricht spricht: Es ist dein Gott			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ			
			Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ			
			Herr Gott, Ich trau allein auf dich			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
			Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herre			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt			
			Jauchtzen-Will ich			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
			Mein Seel erhebt den Herren			
			Mitten wir in Leben sind			
			Nun laßt uns den Lieb begraben			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren [1]			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren (Idem alio modo) [2]			
			Nun Welche hie ihr Hoffnung gar			
			O Herre Gott, dein göttlichs-Wort			
			O Mensch beweine deine Sünde groß			
			Singen-Wir auß herzensgrund			
			Vater unser in Himmelreich			
			Warum betrübst du dich, mein hertz			
			Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist			
			Wohl dem Menschen, der-Wandelt nicht			
1607- 1620	D-B	Mus. ms. 40141	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Außer immensam außer Deus			
			Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir			
			Danket dem Herren [1]			
			Danket dem Herren [2]			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn			
			Jesus Christus, unser Heiland			
			Nun grüss dich Gott			
			Nun singen wir aus herzen Gründ			
			Vive Victus[?] oder Jesu macht uns weise			
			Wend ab deinen Zorn, lieber her/ mitt gnaden			
			Zu dir Herr Christe			
1608	CZ-Pu	XXIII.F.174	Uns ist ein kindlein heut geboren			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1610?	D-Kl	Ms. 4 Mus. 108 I	Ach Gott wie [unknown ending]			
1610-20	S-SC	PB. fil. 172 Per Brahe	Ich dank dir lieber Herre Nun komm der heiden heiland Von Himmel hoch da komm ich her			
1615- 1620	D-Ngm	33748 I	Gruß dich Gott du			
1619	D-LEm	Ms. II.6.15	Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr An Wasserflüssen Babylon [1] An Wasserflüssen Babylon [2] Aus meines Hertzen Grunde sage ich dir/ lob Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset [1] Herr Gott, nun sei gepreiset (alio modo) [2] Ich dank dir lieber Herre Ich weiß daß mein Erlöser lebt In dich habe ich gehoffet Herr Lobet den Herren alle heiden Mein hertz nach Gottes willen Mein junges leben hat ein end Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren Ps[alm] 91/ Wer in dem Schutz des höchsten ist Wer in des aller- /höchsten huet Vertraue du dei-/nem lieben Gott Von Gott will ich nicht lassen [1] Von Gott will ich nicht lassen [2] Wer in des allerhöchsten hut			
c. 1620	NL-Lt	Ms. 1666	Unser Vater in Himmelreich			
1622	S-SC	Ms. B	Ach Gott wo soll ich finden			
1625- 1630	D-LEm	Ms. III.11.26	An Wasserflüssen Babylon Danket dem Herren Ein feste Burg Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			



Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
c.1630	D-Lr	Ms. 4 Mus. 2000	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein			
			Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Christ lag in Todesbanden			
			Günstiger Herr und Freundt			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herre			
			In dich habe ich gehoffet Herr			
			Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
			Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott			
			Von Himmel her [unknown ending]			
			Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist			
			Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern			
1630- 1660	RF-Span	O.N.124	Ach hilf Herr ich verderbe			
			Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott			
			Erstanden ist der helig Christ			
			Jesu mein geistes heil [1]			
			Jesu mein geistes heil [2]			
1635- 1640	PL-Kj	40159	Allein Gott in der höhe sei Ehr			
			Ein feste Burg			
			Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern			
1637	GB-Cfm	Ms. Mus. 688 (olim MU 7-1949 & Ms. 31-H- 28)	Allein zu dir Herr Jesus Christ			
			Aus meines Hertzen Grunde			
			Christ, der du bist der helle Tag			
			Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn			
			Ich dank dir lieber Herre			
			Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt			
			Lobet den Herren			
			Nun laßt uns Gott dem Herren			
			Nun lob, mein Seel den Herren			
			O Gott, wir danken deiner Güt			
			Singen wir auß herzensgrund			
			Was lob sollen wir auch			
			Wie nach einer Wasserquelle			
			Wie schön leuchtet uns der Morgen stern			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1640	GB-Lbl	Ms. Sloane 1021	Ach Gott vom Himmel, sich darein Aus meines Hertzen Grunde [Auss] Zion spriche Brüste dich Godt Danket dem Herren Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ Herr Jesu Christ wahrer Mensch und Gott Nun lob mein Seel uns Gott den herren O Mensch wollest bedencken Rett mich aus meiner sein Singen wir auß herzensgrund Was Lobes sollen wir dir Wo soll ich hin werwünde ich Woll Gots ich leute singen a Frid. Lin.			
1640- 1650	A-KR	L 81	Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
1655 – 1660	D-B	Mus. ms. 40264	Ach wir armen Sünder Auf auf mein hertz Christ lag in Todesbanden vor unser Sünde Dancket dem Herrn den erist sehr freundlich Ich hab mein Sach Gott heimgestellt Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott Lobet den Herren Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist Nun komm der heiden heiland O du Gott der süßen schmerzen O Traurigkeit, o hertzleid Psalm 6 Psalm 9 Psalm 19 Psalm 25 Psalm 42 Psalm 84 Wie schön leuchtet uns der Morgen stern Wohl dem der sich nur laßt begnügen			

Date	Sigla	Call #	Chorale	Date	Author	Short Title
1665-1670	D-ROu	XVII-54	Herzlich thut mich verlangen			
			Jesu du mein liebstes Leben			
			Jesu meine Freude			
			Jesulein du bist mein			
			Nun komm der heiden heiland			
			Wohl dem der sich nur laßt begnügen			
1676	A-Wengel Bensb.	NA	Joseph, lieber Joseph mein			
c. 1680	D-LEm	Ms. II.6.24	Bericht von Himmel			

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- gebracht, also dass dieselben auf Violinen können gebracht werden, durch Georg Stanley. Brieg: Georg Stanley, 1670.*
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